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THE FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD

*By the same author*

The Congress of Arras 1435: a study in  
Medieval Diplomacy (Clarendon Press, 1955)

# *The Field of Cloth of Gold*

Men and manners in 1520

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Joycelyne G. Russell

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## Preface

This study is based on a wide variety of source material. A good deal of it is in print, though more often than not in summary or 'calendar' form, and in translation from Latin, French or Italian with resulting difficulties and errors of interpretation. Some sources are, however, printed in full. Others are as yet unprinted, and available only in manuscript. Of the first category, the most important are:

1) *Letters and papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII* . . . An invaluable collection, in English, but often in summary or 'calendar' form. Particularly important are the accounts of the English royal household, giving details of food and drink, of the Revels Office, giving details of costumes and settings for joust and masque, and of the building works at Guines (preserved in the Public Record Office). These and other original documents have been consulted wherever possible and the printed text verified for accuracy and completeness. Supplementary material thus obtained has been incorporated in this study, with appropriate references.

2) *State papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice* . . . In the same category as the *Letters and papers* already quoted. Most of this collection is a summary of the reports of the Venetian Marino Sanuto, which are available in full text in the Italian edition of his diaries. Other reports are from Milanese, Mantuan, Genoese and other observers whose narratives found their way into Venetian collections.

In the second category, the first importance must be given to the narrative eyewitness accounts. Of these 'The triumphant reign of Kyng Henry the VIII', written by the lawyer and politician Edward Hall, is invaluable. He may have compiled the narrative from notes taken close in time to the events, but the work was not printed until 1542, 1548, and 1550 (copies do not survive of the 1542 edition, the problem of dating being compli-

cated by the fact that Queen Mary ordered the work to be burned in 1555). To balance this on the French side, there are the memoirs of Robert de la Marck, Seigneur de Florange, and Captain of the Swiss guard of Francis I (see below p. 75). There are also the memoirs of Guillaume and Martin Du Bellay, begun in 1555 by Martin, the soldier, but largely based, for this period, on the Latin outline history of his brother, Guillaume, the diplomat, which had been compiled many years before. There is also an English narrative of the event, perhaps written by an officer of arms of the Duke of Suffolk (see below p. 122), preserved in Bodleian MS. Ashmole 1116, and here printed for the first time (Appendix C).

Two 'memorials' of the English arrangements for the meeting are preserved in the Public Record Office (S.P.I. 19); they are summarized in the *Letters and Papers*; a full text, from copies then preserved in the muniments of Westminster Abbey, is printed in *Archaeologia*, Volume XXI. There are, finally, the 'books' (Edward Hall's expression) which the French compiled to commemorate the event, and which are preserved in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Both are printed in 'black letter'. The first, 'L'ordonnance et ordre du tournoy, ioustes et combat à pied et à cheval', was printed and sold by Jehan Lescaille, with exclusive rights from the last day of July 1520 for one year. This was no doubt the publication which, according to the chronicle of the 'Bourgeois de Paris' was sold publicly in the streets. The *Letters and Papers* (Volume III(i), 870) print a summary, in English, of the main items in this work, which contains a prologue, ballad, the articles of the jousts, the order of the interview, two other ballads, and a list of the contestants and prize-winners at the jousts. Montfaucon (*Les monumens de la monarchie française*, Volume IV), prints the full original text of the 'ordre de l'entrevue', the two ballads following, and the details of the jousts. The second 'book', a narrative written at Ardres on June 11th, is entitled 'La description et ordre du camp festin et ioustes', and was printed with a woodcut of the French King in Council as a front page. It is summarized, in English, in the *Letters and Papers* (Volume III(i), 869).

Of unpublished manuscript material, there are collections of letters in the British Museum (especially MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, in part but not wholly calendared in the *Letters and Papers*) and in the Bibliothèque Nationale (especially MS. Français 5761, most of which is unprinted and has been much used for this study).

The accounts of the Treasurer and Receiver-General of the Artillery, which record the making and erection of the French tents and pavillions, are preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale MS. Français 10383. They have not before been utilized, save for a brief mention in a life of the Grand Master of the Artillery, Galiot de Genouillac, by Vaux de Foletier.

These are the main examples of the source material on which this study is based, and to which I have directed my main attention. I have amended and re-evaluated the printed material wherever manuscript sources have made this imperative. If problems of translation or identification have arisen I have quoted the original word or phrase in brackets to assist those especially interested. So great is the volume of evidence (sometimes six or more accounts of the same costume, building, or event), that I have felt compelled to group references at the end of paragraphs. This has, however, been done in ordered sequence, and with sub-headings to assist identification where necessary. Although writing in English and absorbing the evidence into the narrative, I have faithfully adhered to the original sources. Inevitably some evaluation is implied, even in my selection of sources, or preference of one account rather than another; I have, however, indicated my choice wherever this seemed controversial or basic to the main argument. In the main, I have tried to present the material to the reader without intruding my own 'version' or paraphrasing to achieve smoothness or modernity of text. The original accounts are sufficiently vivid and varied to demand direct attention.

I have regarded this study as one of contemporary society. It seemed worth while to attempt a study in depth of a central event in Anglo-French history, in order to present an epitome of men and manners at that time. Diplomacy was the official context of the meeting, but the blaze of entertainment and sport, the public declarations, private asides and comments, drew the whole event into men's remembrance and imagination. Inevitably modern readers approach the subject with some pre-conceived notions, if only of Henry VIII, or Wolsey, or Francis I, and with the knowledge that the whole affair ended in stalemate. Nevertheless, one may get behind these later impressions and judgements to an assessment of an occasion when all that was typical of the society and age obtained its most splendid and memorable expression. 'La diplomatie royale dans toute sa magnificence' has perhaps a fascination beyond its deserts. But as royal commands to attend,

to talk, eat, drink and be merry, could not be disobeyed, the whole of courtly life was precipitated into action. It is hoped to savour, if only through verbal and visual memory, the delights of the meeting, and to obtain a glimpse of something never again seen: the monarchs of England and France, their Queens, and their courtiers, meeting in peace and splendour for midsummer dalliance. It is often the events in history where 'nothing happens' which lead us to a closer knowledge of a period, its aspirations, and its taste.

I should add that, in attempting this work, I have been led into many fields which are new to me, and in which I cannot claim specialist knowledge. I have not, however, desisted on this account, for a full study demands that every aspect of an event be considered. I have received much kind help from colleagues, and from the staff of libraries where I have worked.



## Abbreviations

AN	Archives Nationales Paris.
Anselme	<i>Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France . . .</i> par P. Anselme. Paris 1726.
BM	British Museum.
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.
Bod	Bodleian Library Oxford.
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. London 1908-9.
EETS	<i>Early English Text Society</i> .
LP	<i>Letters and papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII . . .</i> arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer. III(i), III(ii). London 1867.
PRO	Public Record Office.
SHF	<i>La Société de l'histoire de France</i> .
SPV	<i>Calendar of State Papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the archives and collections of Venice and in other libraries in Northern Italy</i> . Vol. III, 1520-1526, ed. by Rawdon Brown. London 1869.



# 1

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## *Introduction*

From June 7th until June 20th 1520 Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France met, talked, jousted, feasted, and danced in a vale between the village of Guines, in the English 'pale' of Calais and the village of Ardres in neighbouring France. The dominant cloth of gold in costume, tent and pavilion, gave the meeting its name: 'le camp du drap d'or', 'The Field of Cloth of Gold'. The memoirs of the Du Bellay brothers already mention this attribution, given on account of the richness of the accoutrements. It is an interesting coincidence that, according to more than one contemporary, the scene of the meeting had been for long (anciently) called the golden vale (val de oro, val doré, vallis aurea).<sup>1</sup>

The meeting had been arranged in October 1518, when France and England concluded a treaty of 'perpetual friendship' and a marriage alliance between the Dauphin Francis, then aged one year eight months, and Henry's daughter Mary, then two years and eight months old. It was decided that there was no better way of increasing this bond of friendship than that the two Kings should see each other and have mutual colloquy, from which, in addition to their making each other's acquaintance, there should result some benefit to the whole of Christendom.<sup>2</sup> The meeting had no tangible result, nor did the diplomatic negotiations merit

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50, 68; LP, III (i) 870; *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume Du Bellay*, pub. par V-L Bourrilly et F. Vindry, SHF, Paris 1908, i, 100 (hereafter referred to as Du Bellay); Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 100<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C).

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, *Foedera*, London 1712, XIII, 680.

so vast a project; it is not even certain that Anglo-French understanding, between kings or subjects, was in any way increased. Meetings between heads of state may breed suspicion and jealousy rather than trust and friendship, especially in two youthful monarchs desirous of glory. But this meeting, in fact merely an excuse for a party on the grandest scale, assaulted popular imagination, both then and since, banishing to oblivion many more weighty and serious achievements. Its title alone ensured remembrance.

We long remember a splendid or exciting event; a dinner, ball, play, or concert. The Field of Cloth of Gold, intended as a 'summit conference', turned into many other things. It was an Olympic Games: the jousts, tournaments, archery, wrestling. It was a musical and dramatic festival: the solemn music of royal choirs, the evenings' minstrelsy, the masques. It was an architectural competition: the English raised a large temporary palace, the French a myriad tents and pavilions. It was a wine and food festival: the banquets, with every luxury in food and drink, and free wine for all. It was an international 'concours d'élégance' in dress and costume, in jewellery, and in caparisons for the choicest mounts. Add to this that almost every notable member of the French and English courts strove to be present, and that many succeeded. The numbers, including the large retinues, probably exceeded 6,000.

All the notables of England and France broke off from the grimmer business of war and politics to cavort and preen themselves in the royal sunshine. The two Kings, rivals in youth, experience and attainment, led a cavalcade in which the old order and the new were splendidly represented. Henry of England, just 29, victor of Théroutanne and Tournai (his first campaign, or 'exercise in mass manoeuvres', against the French in 1513)<sup>1</sup> and with Scotland recovering from the tragedy of Flodden Field, was still in some measure that glorious sun hailed in 1509, handsome, with outstanding physical strength, patron of the arts, skilled musician, something of a theologian, everything of a soldier. The solemn Lord Herbert, his seventeenth-century biographer, wrote 'though some relate that he used singing, dancing, playing on the lute and virginals, making verses and the like; yet his more serious entertainments were the study of history and school divinity (in which he specially delighted), jousts [jousts], turneys,

<sup>1</sup> G. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, London 1963, p. 121.



barriers, and that not in the ordinary manner, but with two-handed sword and battle-axe'. In 1519 the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, declared that 'nature could not have done more for him', for he was handsomer than any sovereign in Christendom, 'he is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; a most capital horseman; a fine jousting; speaks good French, Latin and Spanish; is very religious'. Giustinian also mentioned a knowledge of Italian, and judged that, for his age and station, the King was very learned. At this time, King Henry was probably still a monarch to be praised rather than feared; the hardening and coarsening of character, the unbridled violence of will, were not yet fully grown.

Francis I, more youthful (not quite 26), perhaps more easy-going, was a dilettante in the best Renaissance fashion, schooled in the arts and manners of France and Italy, toying with the New Learning, and its zealous patron, lover of painting, skilled student of architecture. Before his accession, Castiglione had thought him the perfect prince, who would make France renowned for letters and not only for war; handsome of person, beautiful of visage, majestic of countenance, and with a lovely courtesy, much esteeming letters and learned men. By 1544 Cellini saw him as the God Mars, surrounded by the arts and sciences. There was to be a great bronze fountain at Fontainebleau, with a colossus 54 ft high (the God Mars) surrounded by figures of Learning, the Art of Design, Music and Generosity, without which the royal gifts would never have been brought into view. Francis accepted the idea, and commissioned the work, but it was never cast. In 1520 the king, skilful in his own interest, was poised between the demands of peace and war, already a veteran of the Italian campaigns, but well content to foster the gentler occupations of the court. To his sister he was always the hero:

De sa beauté, il est blanc et vermeil,  
Les cheveux bruns, de grande et belle taille,  
En terre il est comme au ciel le soleil;  
Hardy, vaillant, sage et preux en bataille.

His most recent biographer has characterized him thus: 'esprit complexe, brillant, léger, mais aussi perspicace, rusé, matois [sly] davantage, parfois profond', and 'amoureux comme un chat'.<sup>1</sup> Francis, a light-weight to Henry's heavy-weight, in more senses

<sup>1</sup> C. Terrasse, *François I, le roi et le regne*, Paris 1943, i, 198.

than one, had never met his rival. They had both taken the field in 1513, but had not encountered each other face to face or even in the distance of the battle, although King Henry remarked that they had been very near to this three times. There was, therefore, mutual curiosity, and luckless ambassadors were endlessly questioned striving to satisfy but not enrage by their replies.

Francis's Queen was Claude of Brittany, not yet 21, but already mother of three (a fourth child had died in 1517) and expecting a fourth child. She is remembered for her many children (her short life was one succession of childbirths) and in the name of the 'reine Claude' (greengage) first cultivated in France at the royal residence of Blois. At court, the Queen was overshadowed by two royal ladies of brilliance and distinction. The Queen Mother, Louise of Savoy, sister of the reigning Duke, was now 44, all powerful and all knowing, a veteran of political schemes and ambitions, devoted entirely to her son 'Mon roy, mon seigneur, mon César, et mon fils', and agitated when his royal person, even his little finger, was in any way harmed or threatened. A wife at 12 and widow at 19, Louise, Countess of Angoulême had brought up her children in the quiet elegance of Angoulême, Cognac and later Amboise, appraising events with growing shrewdness and perception, alone, and under the hostile criticism and jealousy of the French Queen, Anne of Brittany. The life of retirement had given way to the noise and bustle of affairs of state when Francis her son, proclaimed heir to Louis XII, had married Claude, the only surviving child of Louis and his Queen, Anne, and had succeeded to the throne. Louise, the Queen Mother, relished every moment of her triumph, and every aspect of the power it brought her. Her daughter, Margaret of Angoulême, now (1520) Duchess of Alençon, and later Queen of Navarre, completed the royal Trinity 'un seul cueuer en trois corps' as one contemporary put it. La Marguerite des Marguerites, now 28, writer of prose and verse both serious and gay, patroness of Clément Marot, and for a short time of Calvin, was much beloved by her royal brother. In later years when her religious meditations and scruples of conscience brought her close to heresy, she was a source of embarrassment at court. In 1520, her confession of faith 'Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse' was not yet written, nor the brilliant cycle of tales, the *Heptaméron*, staged in the sharp mountain air and storms of the Pyrenees (her kingdom of Navarre and county of Béarn) but already her radiant and unblemished character shone like a

diamond, and with as many colours: 'esprit abstrait, ravy et ecstatie' wrote Rabelais, while to Marot she was a marvel 'corps féminin, coeur d'homme et teste d'ange'. Jane Seymour was to write Latin verses on her virtues, and Queen Elizabeth I translated the 'Miroir'. Marguerite's device, the souci or marigold 'non inferiora sequutus', was taken in contemporary thought aptly to symbolize the Princess: the flower always turned to the sun, and its petals were like the sun's rays; the princess turned her acts towards God, the sun of justice.

The royal ladies of England could not compete with this brilliance. Queen Catherine of Aragon, not quite 35, perhaps already despairing of a son, aloof from festivities, reserved and sedate in the Spanish manner, was still queen indeed. She had come to England in 1501 at 16, and in her early years as queen had shared Henry's love of fine clothes, music, dancing and hawking. Already in 1515 her russet-gold hair had darkened and her skin sallowed, and it may be that by 1520 Henry was already tiring of her, but she was not yet repudiated. Popular imagination sees her as always old, always virtuous, and perhaps unfairly mocks her, as Michelet: 'La reine Catherine d'Aragon était une sainte espagnole du douzième siècle, d'une perfection désolante: son mari ne pouvait la joindre qu'à genou au prie-Dieu'<sup>1</sup> In fact, Catherine's humanistic education, her patronage of Vives and of other scholars in England, perhaps the central theme of her maturity, are shrouded by later and more sombre events.

The star of Anne Boleyn had not yet risen in 1520. This girl of about 19 (there are still disputes over her probable age) was then at the French court, and so most probably at the meeting, although it is for speculation whether, as Michelet suggests, the King first remarked her beauty on this occasion. For gaiety and zest, the English court turned to the King's sister Mary, widow of Louis XII of France, defiantly married to Charles Brandon, now Duke of Suffolk, 'most acceptable to the King in all his exercises and pastimes', but merely the son of Henry VII's standard-bearer, and to Louise of Savoy and many others 'homme de basse condicion'. When Queen of France (1515) Mary had been described as tall, fair, light complexioned, affable and graceful, a 'nymph from heaven', and 'one of the most beautiful young women in the

<sup>1</sup> J. Michelet, *Histoire de France au seizième siècle, VIII, Réforme*, Paris 1874, p. 100. Catherine's patronage of learning see J. K. McConica, *English humanists and Reformation politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI*, Oxford 1965, pp. 53-4.

world'. In 1520, her marriage with Suffolk now accepted, it was she who led the dances and festivities, as her husband led the jousts.

The royal sovereigns were still in political tutelage, Francis to his mother, Henry to his *éminence grise*, Thomas Wolsey, the reputed butcher's son from Ipswich who got to Magdalen College, Oxford (bursar and fellow) and thence to the highest place in Church and State. Having been royal chaplain, royal almoner, a diplomatic agent and a councillor, sharing the Tournai campaign with his sovereign, he became Archbishop of York (1514), Cardinal-Priest of S. Cecilia (1515), papal legate *a latere* (1515), and Lord Chancellor of England (1518). By 1520, when he would have been about 35 (his date of birth is not precisely known), he was at the height of his influence with the King, in great esteem at the imperial and French courts, and already the subject both of malicious envy and of well-justified criticism. Holinshed, writing later in the century, spoke of him as 'a good philosopher, verie eloquent and full of wit but passingle ambitious', 'tickled with vaine glorie more than can be imagined'. His contemporary, the poet Skelton, called him the King's darling, 'his sweet hart rote', 'so bold a bragging bocher [butcher]', 'be it blacke or whight all that he dothe is ryght', and finally

So myche of my Lordes Grace, and in hym no grace ys,  
So bold and so braggyng, and hym so basely borne,  
So lordlye of his lokes and so dysdaineslye,  
So fatte a maggot, bred of a flesshe flye,  
Was nevyr so fflyty a Gorgon, nor suche an epycure.<sup>1</sup>

Luther himself could not have done better; Shakespeare has him proud above all things, 'I can see his pride peep through each part of him', and Sir Maurice Powicke once sadly remarked to me 'He was on the make – he was on the make'. Nevertheless, this making was in 1520 most profitable to his earthly master, and hardly come by, in unremitting, if misplaced, toil.

Both Francis and Henry were encompassed with overmighty subjects. Pre-eminent in England was Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham. Aged 42 in 1520, he was descended from Edward III's son, Thomas of Woodstock, and was nephew of Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville. Buckingham was married to the sister of the Earl of Northumberland, and had ambitious marriage

<sup>1</sup> John Skelton, *The poetical works: with some account of the author and his writings*, by the Rev. A. Dyce, London 1843, ii, 23, 24, 47.



plans for his three daughters. His 'military potential came not far short of the monarchy itself', he was 'a man of towering strength, the like of which was never to be seen again. With his strategically located castles, his masses of retainers, his widespread territorial possessions, his carefully cultivated patronage of the local nobility, his huge rent-roll, his powerful connections by marriage, his royal lineage, he was too formidable to be allowed to live.'<sup>1</sup> In 1519 he entertained the King at his residence in Kent, Penshurst, while in the west country work proceeded on the new plans for his castle of Thornbury in Gloucestershire. Four great towers were to command the new west front, and the graceful southern range, with its elegant and finely proportioned windows, testified to a taste and confidence which was royal. Over the west gateway, the many heraldic devices, mantle of Brecknock, swan and antelope of the Bohuns, knot of the Staffords, recall an overpowering pride of ancestry. Perhaps the Duke's ambition was too vaunting? Shakespeare has him ill in his tent during the 1520 festivities, a dramatic device to establish sympathy, for which there is no historical evidence. The Duke appeared still in royal favour, although in 1519 the Venetian ambassador had reported that he was extremely popular (with the people) and might easily obtain the Crown if the King died without heirs. The Duke spent the winter of 1520 at Thornbury, with French players performing the Passion, and a spring of country leisure, visiting local shrines (the Holy Blood at Hales and Prince Edward's tomb at Tewkesbury), continuing plans for his garden, with its 'goodly gallery' for sheltered walks, its roosting houses covered in whitethorn and hazel. He was, however, abruptly summoned to London; from allegations of his servants and former servants, including his chancellor (was he perhaps a difficult master?) it was maintained that he was a traitor. He had listened to prophecies of his own accession to the throne, planned the King's death, railed against King and Cardinal, tried to corrupt the royal guard, distributed fine cloth to win favour, multiplied his personal officials to the same ends, and complained of his own lack of rewards. It may be that the King, rather than the Cardinal, wished for his downfall; but his execution on Tower Green, after a swift trial by his peers, removed one who may have antagonized both. The 'curious works and stately lodgings' at Thornbury, where west and north ranges

<sup>1</sup> Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy 1558-1641*, Oxford 1965, pp. 253-4.

are still one storey high, are eloquent of a life cut short. The 'beautiful swan', as one contemporary called him, had many supporters then and since.

Much of the description of Buckingham would fit the over-mighty Charles Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France. A cadet of the ducal house, which was itself descended from St. Louis, and since that time closely allied to the royal family, Bourbon had achieved the full inheritance and dukedom by marriage with the heiress, Suzanne, his second cousin. Contradictory and much disputed agreements between the crown and the Bourbons as to the descent of this great inheritance (part apanage and ancient royal demesne, part patrimonial lands, part lands held by special treaties) had by 1520 come to a tangled confusion of legal argument. In 1521, on the death of Suzanne, whose children had predeceased her, the crown and Louise of Savoy, herself a cousin of Suzanne, asserted claims to reversion. It was no doubt this threatened disinheritance and the ensuing lawsuit which drove Bourbon to treason. In 1523 he deserted and took service with the Emperor, on whose side he fought against his sovereign at Pavia. He was to die (Cellini thought by his bullet) scaling the walls of Rome when his undisciplined army sacked it in 1527. His embalmed body, buried in Gaeta castle, was exhumed on order from the Council of Trent, and could be seen, propped up as if standing, until its reburial in the eighteenth century. It was pointed out to visitors as that of the great traitor. In Paris in 1527, his goods and lands adjudged to the crown, the door of his great house opposite the Louvre was painted yellow in sign of his disgrace. All this was yet to come in 1520. At this time, 31 and at the height of his power, he held the highest military office under the crown, and was a veteran of the Italian wars in which he had served well and expended of his own wealth. His Italian blood (his mother was a Gonzaga) no doubt gave him special interest in the Italian 'glories and mists' of the French kings. At home, his favour at court is attested by the royal visit to him at his fortress of Chatellerault (Vienne) the Christmas before the 1520 meeting, but perhaps the relationship with King Francis was never a close one. There is a tradition that Henry VIII remarked in 1520 that, had he such a subject, he would cut off his head, a remedy which Henry not infrequently applied to opposition. It seems that relations between Francis and his Constable were always overcast by the sullen pride and strength of the latter.



The meeting would have seen the renewal of friendship between the two liveliest brains in Western Europe. For Erasmus of Rotterdam had been invited by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and by Thomas More himself. The great humanist and satirist, whose *Praise of Folly* had excited and amused the courts and universities, and whose elegance and mirth have survived the dimming of his (almost legendary) reputation for scholarship, was a will-o'-the-wisp to kings and courtiers, always in demand, always fleeing from the temptations and responsibilities of office and honour, whether from pope, emperor, or king. He had seen England in the halcyon days of his youth, when Henry VIII was a child, when the New Learning had not yet met the crisis of militant reform and heresy, and when Erasmus's tender spirit was not yet reproached, as later, with its lack of divine anger. He made the journey in 1520 to Calais, sometime in July, and returned to Louvain, his habitual residence at this time. He was, therefore, present at the meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor (when he hoped to present to Wolsey his paraphrases on St. Peter and St. Jude), but not, it seems, at Guines or Ardres. He may have been in the imperial train at Calais.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas More, scholar, lawyer, and courtier, and already famous for his *Utopia*, was at this time one of the rising favourites of the King, having served in the council, in the law courts, and on embassy, and being well approved by Wolsey. He appears among the gentlemen of the King in the lists of those attending the meeting. No doubt his wit and humour enlivened the lower tables of the feasts and banquets, but no memory of the occasion survives in his works.

Lesser courtiers, musicians, artists and poets, made up the assembly, adding their own colour and idiosyncrasy. From England was summoned the black monk (Benedictine) Alexander Barclay. By this date he had already written his *Eclogues*, a satire in the vernacular, based on those of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) and the Carmelite Mantuan. The poet brings to life the evils of court life in verses which, though culled from others, have their own pungency, their own burly rusticity. The author, a chaplain of Ottery St. Mary, then Benedictine of Ely, then Franciscan, became a rebel from the old religion, seeking refuge in Germany, returning to England and to the old ways, and

<sup>1</sup> *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, recognovit P. S. Allen, Oxford 1922, IV, IIII (i), III3-III5, III7 (16, 17).

reproached by Thomas Cromwell for preaching the 'old religion' and shunning the royal supremacy. He ended in the respectability of a D.D., and a London rectory. In 1520, his opposite number was Clément Marot, a young court poet from Cahors, recommended by Francis I to his sister Marguerite, and now in her service. He was the star of Renaissance learning and courtliness, whose verses, with their effortless grace, contrast oddly with Barclay's. But Marot too was impelled by the times to criticize the church, was suspected of Lutheranism, but recanted his views. He was probably not a heretic, but a critic in the vein of Erasmus, emphasizing morality more than dogma. His career, with its ins and outs of court favour, shone brightly in 1520, although his verses, offered or perhaps commanded for the occasion, are not his best.

To enumerate these *dramatis personae* is to sense the climate of the age, the flavour of the moment, its problems, its diversity, its traditional splendour, confidence and faith hiding the self-questioning and doubt, the economic and social upheaval, and the political turmoil. In the distance, the figures of Pope and Emperor add still more variety. The youthful Charles V, 20, newly elected to empire, green in affairs of state, hard-working and serious, like other citizens of Ghent, was described by Polydore Vergil: 'even in his youth he was possessed of great decorum, and no argument could be adduced to make him join in with the groups of nobles singing and dancing, for he preferred to be merely a spectator'. Charles pondered on his Christian heritage, dreamt of the restoration of the true religion, and a crusade against the Turk. In Rome there ruled the politically gifted but indolent Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici, of the Florentine ducal house, surrounded by buffoons, musicians and artists, 'by nature addicted to idleness and pleasure' excessively liberal, 'inclined even beyond the bounds of decency to sensual gratifications'. Proven more prudent but less good than had been expected of him in 1513, he was saved, according to the statesman and historian Guicciardini (whose estimate has just been quoted) by 'Fortune' from the consequences of his mistakes. He hoped that all Europe would dance a pavane to his tune, and above all that his Italian schemes for the papacy and his house would prosper. Across the Alps in Germany Martin Luther had already fixed his theses to the cathedral door of Wittenberg. As yet, Europe did not take him seriously; a Venetian dubbed him a 'very learned man, who follows St. Paul and is much opposed to

the pope'; yet very soon there were many who, as Skelton wrote, 'have a smacke of Luther's sacke'.

In 1520 at Guines and Ardres, the grace of the new age was pressed into the service of the old. The two royal cavalcades, as they rode to greet one another, have been commemorated in the bas-relief at the Hôtel Bourghtheroulde in Rouen (fashioned some 10 years later) in which figures of classical balance and poise show us the meeting as it was meant to be, the propaganda piece as it was intended.<sup>1</sup> The classical order and harmony of the sculpture shows what was hoped for. It would soon be broken: war, death, heresy, and treason would bring disorder and discord. For the moment there was a respite, an interlude of amusement and attempted friendship. It was a great, though transitory, meeting of old and new; even in the masques, some wore the 'long robes' of the middle ages, others the classical garb of ancient heroes, refurbished to Renaissance taste. For France and England, whose histories have alternately delighted and enraged each other, it was an encounter which would not come again.

The whole meeting disported itself with all the trappings of allegory and symbolism. It is important to stress what Miss Yates has brilliantly termed the 'image level of the mind' on which Renaissance man achieved his unity of outlook. 'Mythology had become one of the most important aspects of learning' so that truths or aspirations, even of the hard political situation, might be mirrored forth in fantasies of costume or staging, whether in tournament or joust. For this reason Barclay and Marot, and many others, toiled with device and epigram. 'The Renaissance had at its disposal a repertory of images, systematized by learned experts, which formed a language used by art and literature in all European countries to which the learning of the humanists had penetrated.'<sup>2</sup> So to audience and participators in festivities, there was a quickly evident meaning in objects, colours, allegorical and mythological personages, with mottoes and verses on building, costume or trapping, to point the explanation. The ceremonies and delights of 1520 are a supreme example of this world of symbolism.

The background to the meeting was sombre and threatening.

<sup>1</sup> Plate II. The hôtel was built by Guillaume le Roux, Seigneur de Bourghtheroulde, whose son is thought to have been present at the 1520 meeting.

<sup>2</sup> Frances A. Yates, *The French academies of the sixteenth century*, London 1947, pp. 131, 151.

In 1518 Leo X had summoned the princes of Europe to make peace and combat the Turk, master of Asia Minor and the Balkans, recently conqueror of north Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and a perpetual threat to eastern Europe. Belgrade was taken in 1521 and the Hospitaller stronghold of Rhodes in 1522. Henry VIII in fact welcomed news of the Turk, grumbled the Venetian ambassador, especially of any reverses, but the King and Wolsey were apt to call Francis I the Christian Turk. As for the 'real Turk', the English did not wish to go on any crusade, but knew it would be a great reproach if the French did and they did not. At the time of these observations (1517-18) Venice herself had made a treaty with the Turk, claiming her front-line position made this inevitable, and blaming the Pope for over-anxiety. In France, the crusade was proclaimed, and money collected in the churches, but it was soon diverted to royal use, and the pattern of the future would be a special understanding with the Turk which the 1536 treaty first formalized. Thus the call for a crusade fell on deaf ears, although the papal request for universal peace was accepted. Francis I and Henry VIII made peace (and a marriage treaty, to be mentioned later), as did the Emperor Maximilian. The Venetian ambassador rejoiced when the treaty of general peace was inaudibly read out at St. Paul's, for this, he thought, was tantamount to cancelling the preamble which called for an expedition against the Turk. Yet in pageantry myth was retained; the French ambassadors were entertained at Greenwich with a pageant in which the 'set piece' was a rock, on which stood five trees, the olive, with a shield bearing the papal arms, the pineapple, with the imperial arms, the rose, with those of England, the lily with those of France, and the pomegranate with those of Spain. The marriage alliance between France and England formed the central theme, with a fair lady holding a dolphin in her lap; a character called 'Report', mounted on a flying horse named Pegasus, explained in French what it all meant.<sup>1</sup>

In practice, the Turkish threat was gaily disregarded at the French and English courts. There were problems nearer home. In 1519, on the death of Maximilian, there had succeeded to the empire his grandson Charles, the future Charles V, who ruled over

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 171. Sebastien Giustinian, despatches in *Four years at the court of Henry VIII*, selection of despatches, trans. Rawdon Brown, London 1854, ii, 224-5 (hereafter cited as Rawdon Brown).



the Low Countries (his Burgundian inheritance), Spain, Naples, and now Germany and the hereditary Hapsburg lands, with technical claims to overlordship in non-papal Italy. Francis I, his nearest rival in the imperial contest, saw his compact kingdom, to which Brittany and Provence had recently been added, threatened on all sides by a vast Hapsburg empire. It was true that Francis held Milan and Genoa, but as these were technically imperial fiefs, Charles would doubtless strive to displace the French. On the other hand, he might strive to reclaim the duchy of Burgundy, now lapsed to the French crown, since female descent, by which Charles obtained the county of Burgundy and the Low Countries, was held not to apply to a French fief. For full measure, there were disputes over French suzerainty in Flanders and Artois, part of the Burgundian inheritance of the Emperor. There was thus every reason to expect a Franco-imperial conflict, and in fact war broke out in 1521 and lasted intermittently throughout the lifetime of the two rulers.

In this duel, England prided herself that she might be arbiter, a role particularly dear to Thomas Wolsey. In 1519 the Venetian ambassador, who described the cardinal as 'leading the dance' and who reported 'this cardinal is king', held that Wolsey was the principal author of all Henry's negotiations, whose sole aim was to procure 'insense' for the King and himself, and who could not be better pleased than to be styled 'the arbitrator of the affairs of Christendom.'<sup>1</sup> The political situation, as viewed from England, was that there were ancient ties of commerce with the Low Countries, and that Henry's Queen, Catherine, was the Emperor's aunt. With France, the long conflict of the Hundred Years' War had left its aftermath, an uneasy alternating between peace and war, the ancient claim to the crown of France being shelved or revived as suited the interest of the moment. Edward IV's large invading army had been bought off by Louis XI with the temporary expedient of wine, and the more permanent allurements of an annual pension, which the English euphemistically termed 'tribute' (Henry VIII used these words to Giustinian). This monetary settlement had been the pattern of more recent peace treaties, while Calais and its dependent 'pale' remained an English bastion from which any attack could be launched. It would unfortunately be true to say that a latent Francophobia was a

<sup>1</sup> Rawdon Brown, i, 319.

constant factor in English public opinion at this time, and that while a French war could be easily accepted, there was a certain diffidence about any close alliance. Giustinian wrote of the 'natural enmity' between England and France. Wolsey told him of French perfidy, and when he retorted that Francis I was not like Louis XII, the Cardinal replied 'omnes sunt Galli', probably voicing the opinion of many of his countrymen. On the French side, memories of English occupation and war crimes, still sometimes told in the twentieth century, would have been vivid in the 1520s, with legendary stories of the 'Goddams' and the fact that Englishmen had tails. These memories of the ancient enemy slumbered only to awaken at any rumour or reality of invasion. The Hapsburg was, however, nearer and more powerful. England could therefore, to some extent, choose her partner in 1520. In fact she was courted by both sides, already poised for deadly conflict. England was not an arbiter, however much she might wish it, but her help might turn the scales, so that when it suited them either side might surrender to Wolsey's grandiose schemes of mediation between princes.

The meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I had been scheduled for 1519. It was, however postponed, since in that year there was the great contest for the imperial title, Francis I being a close rival of Charles V, and Henry himself being a less favoured candidate. The arrangements for the Anglo-French meeting were then complicated by the expected journey of the emperor-elect, Charles, from his Spanish lands to Germany in 1520. He would travel by sea, skirting the English coast. A meeting between him and Henry VIII was much desired by both, a fact soon apprehended by the French, who strove if not to prevent it, at least to postpone it until after the Anglo-French interview. Each of the three parties deftly placed responsibility on the others, and in the resultant duplicity, it is difficult to disentangle the truth. The Emperor declared that he knew of Henry and Catherine's great desire that he should meet them, and that the visit should be 'in passing'. The Emperor's aunt and Regent in the Low Countries, Margaret of Austria, declared that the English alliance was imperative (she was negotiating to renew former commercial and other treaties), but that this must be concealed from the English, who should be told that the Emperor was sought in alliance by the French (a manoeuvre which lends some substance to an earlier French report that the Lady Margaret was incessantly sowing



discord between England and France). Wolsey, for his part, pretended that he and his master were compelled to attend the Anglo-French meeting by the Emperor's slowness in coming; Henry declared that he was trying to defer the French interview, but had not revealed his true reason. The imperial ambassadors in England strove to win over Wolsey from his alleged partiality for the French, while Queen Catherine was alleged to be hostile to any meeting with Francis I, and only desirous of an imperial alliance. From Rome, the Bishop of Worcester wrote to Wolsey, and for his ears alone: the Pope had a hint from a very good quarter that the Emperor intended to land in England, if only to disturb the meeting with Francis I, and the French were not a little afraid of this.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile Henry posted observers on the coast, as far as Cornwall, to spot the imperial fleet, detained by contrary winds. The King was thought to be willing to await the Emperor until the latest day in May consistent with his French commitments. It was hoped that he would meet the Emperor on May 15th. The Venetian ambassador in Spain reported that Henry longed for the meeting, and that the Emperor now wore the Order of the Garter which Henry had just sent.<sup>2</sup> Eventually Charles landed at Dover on May 26th, staying in England until May 30th, by which date the English were already expected at the French meeting. Emperor and King sailed from England on that day, Charles from Sandwich and Henry from Dover; but not without arranging another meeting, between Calais and Gravelines (just across the border in imperial territory) which should immediately follow Henry's interview with Francis.

The Anglo-French meeting therefore took place in an atmosphere of intense suspicion, particularly of England's attitude. Inevitably both sides protested too much. Henry's new ambassador to France, Sir Richard Wingfield, declared that his master most desired the meeting whereby

That thyng which as yet standing upon repourtes is  
covered with shadow shal be brought to the veraye light  
fface to face if it procede and finally make such  
impression of entier love in thaire hertes that the  
same shal be alwaies permanent and never be dissolved

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 637, 672, 689, 696, 720, 728, 742, 788, 789. Rawdon Brown, ii, 284 (the report on Margaret of Austria).

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 38.

to the pleasure of God their boothe comfourtes and the weale of all Christendome.

Francis rejoined that the interview would not be like the meetings of princes in times past, which were of necessity and constraint, but proceeded only from cordial love and affection, and would not harm or prejudice any Christian prince. He hoped some act would follow, to the pleasure of God and for the weal of Christendom.<sup>1</sup> Already, in 1519, both Kings had sworn not to shave their beards until the meeting took place; the fact that Henry shaved, which soon became known at the French court, had to be excused by the English ambassador as entirely due to the insistence of Queen Catherine. The Queen Mother of France tactfully exonerated the culprit; love was not shown in men's beards, but in their hearts.<sup>2</sup>

In March both Francis and Henry had empowered Wolsey to make all arrangements for the meeting, which should be before the end of May. Henry, however, anxiously awaiting the Emperor's arrival and wishing to see him first, tried to delay the meeting until June or July. Every excuse was given: the elaborate preparations, the arrangements for the feat of arms, the ships needed, the difficulty in providing grass and forage for animals in May.<sup>3</sup> The French however refused to move the date by more than a few days. They had an invincible argument. Francis's Queen, Claude, was expecting a child (it was born on August 10th), and 'her stomach' would not support travelling at a later date. She would be in her eighth month of pregnancy in June. The ungallant suggestion of the English, that she should be honoured, if her child were born during the interview, by having Henry and Catherine at the christening, was not accepted. All arrangements for the royal accouchement had already been made at St. Germain-en-Laye.<sup>4</sup> On another topic, the French declared, with some reason (as events proved) that July would be the hottest month

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 629; BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D. VII, f. 184<sup>r</sup>. (This collection of contemporary documents is quoted in the *Letters and Papers* (LP) in summary form. Where the full text is especially important, the MS. reference is given.) BM. MS. Add. 4620, f. 291<sup>r</sup> (a collection of Rymer's transcripts of contemporary documents).

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 416, 514.

<sup>3</sup> BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 237<sup>r</sup>; Hall, i, 195.

<sup>4</sup> LP, III (i), 681, 725; the full text of the first document, a letter from the Admiral of France to Wolsey is in BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 194<sup>r</sup> and BN. MS. Français 5761 f. 34<sup>r</sup>.

of the year and therefore people would drink the most, which would undoubtedly lead to disturbances.<sup>1</sup>

This elaborate comedy took a serious turn over the imperial threat. In January, the Admiral of France (Guillaume Gouffier Seigneur de Bonnivet et de Crèvecoeur), Wolsey's opposite number in arranging the meeting, indicated that the French suspected Henry and his minister's motives. Wolsey retorted that the French were rumoured to be playing with an imperial alliance. In another letter the Admiral insisted that the English had promised not to meet the Emperor until after the Anglo-French interview. He feared a complete rupture of this meeting and warned that if it did not take place Francis would not willingly arrange another. He reminded Wolsey of his exalted position, and that the French had his signature and seal on this agreement. The Admiral would trust that the meeting would take place, even if all the world said the contrary.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the English ambassador in France calmly asked the Admiral what Henry should do if the Emperor, driven either by chance or by a storm, should land in England before the Anglo-French meeting. The Admiral replied that it would be quite apparent whether the Emperor had come by force or voluntarily; the French themselves had refused imperial overtures.<sup>3</sup> Wolsey's reply is preserved in a draft corrected in his own hand. It reveals the depths of deceit and casuistry, though these commodities were not English monopolies. The Cardinal states that the accusations against him (of bad faith) are based on uncertain reports and rumours. The King has always kept his word. The imperial ambassador visiting England had come to discuss a commercial treaty. The King might perhaps see the Emperor, if by chance he should pass by the port of embarkation for France, but he would not wait for him. If such an event took place, and this was unlikely, it could not properly be called a meeting, but rather an 'encounter' in the King's journey towards the interview with the French King. King Henry thought of little save this meeting, which so much touched his honour. He wanted the establishment

<sup>1</sup> *Original letters illustrative of English history, with notes* by Henry Ellis, London 1824, i, 143 (No. 52) (hereafter cited as Ellis). This letter, from BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII f. 187<sup>r</sup>, is given in Ellis as 1519; it should be 1520.

<sup>2</sup> BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 31<sup>r</sup> 31<sup>v</sup>, 36<sup>r</sup>–37<sup>r</sup>. The former letter is unpublished; the latter, from the parallel text in BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 202<sup>r</sup>, is summarized in LP, III (i), 733 (cf. *ibid.* III (i), 681, 727).

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), 734.

of an indissoluble 'knott of perdurable amitie betwixt thaym'. The delays were due only to the substantial preparations, and to the fact that Wolsey himself had been ill. He might even be prevented from attending the interview.<sup>1</sup> In fact he was reported as ill of a fever, and giving audience only to the King, in April. Early in May there are reports of colic, but by mid-month, reports that he is in better health than usual.<sup>2</sup> There was therefore some substance in his personal excuses.

In all these tergiversations, Francis was able to play the role of the constant lover, who never broke his pledge. On hearing that Henry counted every day a year until the meeting, Francis informed his ambassador to England that his friendship with the King of England was one of the best and principal pleasures he had ever had. Their wills, intentions, friendships, and desires were united and conformed, so that they were identical.<sup>3</sup> The King had much earlier declared that he would come to see Henry, even with only a page and lackey (already used for a servant, in French and in English).<sup>4</sup> To Wolsey, Francis offered the best physicians for his 'colic and jaundice', and the advice that a small journey and change of air would help. If the Cardinal were not at the meeting, it would lack the greater part of its perfection: he was in the love and trust of both Kings, and would not only assist them in their private affairs, but in his high wisdom, would advise them in the execution of some service for the defence, surety and weal of Christendom.<sup>5</sup>

The final round in this contest was an English accusation, late in May, that the French were assembling a fleet (*armée de la mer*) at Brest and in Provence. The answer came that the fleet was to meet the Turkish menace, and that from the Moors of North Africa, and that no such force would sail from the ports of Brittany or Normandy during the interview.<sup>6</sup>

Suspicion and accusation, backed by rumours or 'bubbles' as

<sup>1</sup> BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 209<sup>r</sup>-215<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 43, 47, 130, 187. (In October Wolsey is reported ill BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 222<sup>v</sup>.)

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), 808; BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 43<sup>r</sup> (an unpublished letter from Francis I to his ambassador in England).

<sup>4</sup> Ellis, I, 149 (No. 53).

<sup>5</sup> LP, III (i), 809; full text in BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII f. 223<sup>r</sup> (not 217 as quoted in LP).

<sup>6</sup> LP, III (i), 832, 836; full text in BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII f. 229<sup>r</sup>, 232<sup>r</sup>.



the Venetians called them, continued until the moment of meeting. However, from at least February 1520, elaborate preparations were made. In the main provisions, Wolsey had plainly got the upper hand. In 1518 a 'neutral' place for the meeting had been specified, that is, somewhere in neither French nor English territory, probably Sandingfeld, just on the Calais border, and on neutral ground between France, Flanders and the English 'pale'. In 1520, however, in the final agreement of March 26th ratified by both sides, Wolsey secured that the meeting should be within the English domain of Guines, in the direction of Ardres. The Cardinal declared that his master would sustain much cost and expense in crossing the sea, and would expose himself to danger by leaving his realm. Therefore it would not be to his honour or dignity to have the meeting in neutral territory.<sup>1</sup> Francis accepted this, his minister the Admiral declaring that this showed his honesty, being no little matter, and one in which he had overruled the views of the majority of his council.<sup>2</sup> The French, however, won in that the whole meeting took place in the countryside between Guines and Ardres. Right up to the end, the English hoped that, after the first interview, the French would come to Calais, as had been intended in 1519. In that year they had drawn up detailed provisions for this contingency.<sup>3</sup> However, the French insisted that a concourse of over 6,000 people could not assemble in Calais, or Boulogne (the French alternative), without

<sup>1</sup> Agreement in Rymer, XIII, 715-19 (Latin text). The French text is in BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 39<sup>r</sup>; the English text is in Hall, i, 183-7.

<sup>2</sup> BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 33<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis, i, 153 (No. 54). A 'memoriall' of arrangements for an Anglo-French meeting is preserved in PRO S.P.I. 19, and calendared in LP, III (i), 704 (No. 2). The companion document, another 'memoriall' clearly refers to the 1520 meeting, and it has been assumed that the second does also. It is clear, however, from internal evidence (dating of the intended meeting, July 15th, place of first interview of the Kings (Sandingfeld), place of later meetings (Calais), and from some of the personnel listed as going (e.g. the Earl of Surrey, who was in Ireland in 1520)) that this second 'memoriall' relates to the projected meeting in 1519, which did not take place. The document may, however, be used to supplement details in the first 'memoriall' of general plans for such meetings. The two 'memorialls' were printed in full by John Caley, 'Two papers relating to the interview between Henry the Eighth of England and Francis the First of France . . .' in *Archaeologia*, XXI, 1827, pp. 176-91. Caley refers to the documents as in the Chapter House Westminster; they are not now there, and it is thought that they were later transferred to the Public Record Office, where originals now survive. There is an eighteenth-century copy of the documents in BM. MS. Add. 4620, f. 298-311.

disturbance, and Wolsey's final arbitration therefore dropped this scheme.<sup>1</sup>

The detailed arrangements provided that Henry, his Queen, and his sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, should come to their castle of Guines, and that Francis, his Queen and his mother, Louise of Savoy, should come to their castle of Ardres, before the end of May. Within four days from this date, the two Kings should meet, at a place to be determined by commissioners to be appointed by each side. Henry should set forth from Guines towards Ardres, but should not go outside his domain. There he would wait for Francis, in some place not walled or fortified, near the French boundary. Francis would proceed to this meeting place, both Kings being on horseback. The meeting would be in a spot where there were no tents or pavilions. Having met and conversed, each should return whence he had come. On the next day, England's honour having been satisfied by the location of the first interview, Henry should go to Ardres to salute the French Queen and dine with her, Francis going to Guines, to meet and dine with the Queen of England and Mary, the King's sister.

It was further agreed that, since the two Kings were alike in corporal force, beauty and gifts of nature, expert in military art, chivalrous in arms, and in the flower and vigour of youth, it seemed right that they should show their strength in some feat of arms, both on foot and on horseback, against all comers. The place for this feat should be decided by commissioners. Each evening, after the jousts, triumphs, banquets and familiar communications, the Kings and the Queens should return to their castles. The entertainments at Guines for the French King were to include an 'honourable mummerly' of noble men and women.

Precedence in all encounters was ensured by stipulating that when the King of England, his Queen and his sister visited French territory, they should have precedence (usually shown by walking or riding on the right hand of the host). Similarly the French King his Queen and his mother, should have precedence in English territory. The number of their retinues, their servants and horses should be precisely laid down in letters to be ratified by both Kings. Two gentlemen should be appointed to have charge of the safety and security of the meeting; they should depute 'explorators and spies' to explore and scour the countryside near the place of meeting, and report to the two Kings and their councillors

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, i, 139-146 (No. 52); BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 189<sup>r</sup>.



morning and night. In this way security, and provision of victuals, would be safeguarded. No men at arms, except those stationed at Boulogne and Calais, should come within two days journey of the place of meeting.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, XIII, 705-709; Hall, i, 183-187; BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 33<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>.

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### *The Scene is set at Guines and Ardres*

Within the framework of Wolsey's provisions, a contest took place to lodge the multitude. Preparations on each side had been under way since at least February, materials and labour being sought far and wide, and transport in itself being a major problem. There was a desperate haste to be finished in time, so that work by day and night, on feast days and Sundays, became the rule. The progress of the other side was jealously watched and reported. The whole problem arose because neither Guines nor Ardres were more than small villages, although one comment is that Guines was the larger and stronger. The English had obtained the county of Guines under the treaty of Bretigny of 1360. The castle, to the north-east of the village, was a garrison post. It was an irregular pentagon, with a donjon called 'La Cupe' (the basket), and with false brayes or advanced parapets, adapted to artillery warfare. In 1520, the castle was in need of some repair, and was in any case quite unsuited to the receptions intended. Ardres, also ceded to England in 1360, had been retaken in 1377. Its castle stood on the brow of the hill, with ramparts and fosses, overlooking the rich plain. Ardres had been abandoned during the 1513-14 campaign, and had been burnt by the English. When retaken, some houses were rebuilt, but it was left an open village, with its castle in disrepair if not ruin. A Mantuan observer compared it in size to Urbino.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 60; LP, III (i), 642.

Calais, Ardres and Guines form a triangle, with Calais the northern point, Guines 10 kilometres south of Calais, and Ardres 17 kilometres south-east of Calais. Guines is about  $9\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres slightly north of west from Ardres. The scene of the meeting, just outside Guines towards Ardres, and then within the 'pale' of Calais, is today an expanse of undulating fields to the left of the road from Ardres as it approaches Guines. In the background are the wooded slopes of the forest of Guines. From the scene of the festivities one can see the towers of Calais in the distance to the north, and from the higher points of the site Ardres is just visible.

Both sides felt that their prestige depended on a sumptuous array of temporary buildings. The French, who favoured tents and pavilions, seemed in a flurry of anxiety. On April 17th Francis asked whether Henry would forbear the making of rich tents and pavilions, while the English at Guines smugly reported that the French made but little preparations.<sup>1</sup> The fact was that Francis was assembling tents and pavilions of the most lavish kind, but far away at Tours on the Loire. His pleading to Henry was but another round in the game.

A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris gives us the full account of French preparations.<sup>2</sup> It is the record of the accounts of Guillaume de Saigne, Treasurer and Receiver-General of the Artillery, for the making and transport of the tents and pavilions; the actual operations being under the orders of Galiot de Genouillac, chevalier, royal councillor and chamberlain, and Grand Master of the Artillery. Galiot, born at Assier in Quercy, came of a family which had risen in royal service; his uncle had been Master of the Artillery to Louis XI and Charles VIII, and he himself, a favourite of Charles VIII, campaigned in Italy with his royal masters: he became Master of Artillery when his predecessor was killed at Ravenna. It was Galiot, with 2,000 pioneers, who got the French artillery over the Alps in 1515, and at Marignano established the artillery as the vital factor in French campaigns. In 1518 he was promoted to be Grand Master of the Artillery, the second highest military office in the kingdom. He was to become Grand Écuyer (Master of the Horse) and remained always in high favour at court, sending his wine of Assier to the King, and plants

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 749; Ellis, i, 166 (No. 59); BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 216r; *The chronicle of Calais in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, ed. by John Gough Nichols, Camden Society, London 1846, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> BN. MS. Français 10383 (the original accounts).

from his garden for the royal garden at Fontainebleau. At his castle of Assier, an equestrian statue of the hero graced the doorway; his artillery exploits were recalled on the sculpture of his tomb, where he was content that angels carry banners 'Vivat Iac. Galiotus'. His device was, however, 'Fortune' and the labours of Hercules his favourite motif on armour, tapestry and in sculpture.<sup>1</sup>

In 1520 Galiot's responsibility for tents and pavilions called for speedy but artistic provision, beyond the bare needs of his normal campaigns. Unfortunately, there are some missing folios in the manuscript account, representing the highest item of expenditure: £159,890 12s. 6d. of Tours out of a total of £195,546 11s. 5d. From later details of resale after the event, it is certain that this item was the enrichments (enrichissements) for the tents and pavilions; the cloth of gold, velvet, satin, etc., and we can reconstruct the main items from this resale, minutely recorded.<sup>2</sup> It should be stated that, in both the French and English camps, the actual tents and pavilions were constructed in hard-wearing canvas, with masts, etc., of wood, and were then covered with the sumptuous materials which have given the meeting its name. The French accounts are in the money of Tours, a money of account only (one pound of 20 sous, and each sous worth 12 deniers). It seems that the comparative value of the pound of Tours and the pound sterling at this time was about 10 pounds of Tours to 1 sterling, i.e. the pound of Tours was worth about 2 shillings English.<sup>3</sup> The sums in the following narrative should therefore be divided by about ten to get the comparative value in English money of the period.

<sup>1</sup> François de Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouillac, maître de l'artillerie de France (1465-1546)*, Paris 1925.

<sup>2</sup> BN. MS. Français, 10383, f. 172<sup>r</sup>-193<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> E. Levasseur, *Mémoire sur les monnaies du règne de François I*, Paris 1920; N. Wailly, *Mémoire sur les variations de la livre tournois depuis le règne de Saint Louis jusqu'à l'établissement de la monnaie décimale*, Paris 1857; Franck C. Spooner, *L'économie mondiale et les frappes monétaires en France, 1493-1680* Paris 1956; O. de Smedt, *De Engelse natie te Antwerpen in de 16e Eeuw, 1496-1592*, Antwerp 1954. The French écu au soleil, worth 40 sous tournois at this period, was worth about 4 English shillings. The English crown (introduced in 1526) was worth 4s. 6d. by 1527, and was worth 44 sous tournois in 1533 and 1549. It therefore seems that a ratio of ten livres tournois to one pound English is about right (and Cotgrave gives this equivalent in his dictionary of 1611). In the fifteenth century a ratio of nine to one was given by William of Worcester (K. B. McFarlane, in *Past and Present*, No. 22, 1962, p. 13 note 18, quoting *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series, London 1864, II (ii), 534).

At Tours, the Archbishop's palace and castle were the scene of activity, where vast stores of materials were assembled, and an army of workmen and women laboured to produce the finished product. Some 35,143 aunes (43 in.-44 in.) of canvas were needed, some bought at the last minute when the operations had shifted to the north. Some of it was dyed in the King's colours of black, white, tawny, and purple. Fustian was also bought and thousands of pounds weight of ribbons, mostly buckram, and of cotton thread. There was taffeta in many colours for attaching the enrichments to the tents, as also lashing of silk, cord, wool, and leather for the same purpose. Fine linen from Holland was used for the windows and 'lights'. Wood of pine, fir, oak, and walnut was brought from the forests of Auvergne and Forez, by water and by land. It was to make the masts, the supports of the walls, windows, and 'lights'. Rope, leather straps, pegs, and nails were bought in profusion.

The most costly item was the enrichments. Yards upon yards of cloth of gold and silver, of *toille d'or* and *toille d'argent*, of velvet and satin, and endless quantities of heraldic devices, fleur-de-lis, ermines, and white crosses, all made in the same costly materials. It should be explained that cloth of gold (*drap d'or*) or silver was the heavier material, the weft of the gold (or silver) thread, the warp of silk, while *toille d'or* was a much lighter material of great delicacy, the weft being of the gold thread, and the warp of silk. There is no exact English equivalent for the second term. These lengths of material, often with the windows and lights in them, were resold to Michel Cossé, silk merchant of Tours, after the meeting. In the beginning the search had gone far afield. One official journeyed seven times to Florence for fleur-de-lis of cloth of gold; three other journeys for the same purpose were made to Milan, and there were other journeys to Lyon. A merchant of Geneva was reimbursed for the customs duties he had paid on cases of blue velvet for the embellishment of the tents.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the hard work of tent-making went on. The tent-makers and tailors, both men and women, worked for wages of 5*s.* of Tours a day, on the average, though five master tent-makers were brought from Lyon at a wage of 20*s.*, four travelling north with their handiwork. Another master tent-maker drew 12*s.* In all there were 139 tent-makers and tailors at work by mid April, some having started in late February. By May 7th there were 170

<sup>1</sup> BN, MS. Français 10383, f. 10<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>r</sup>.



men and 120 women working in the great hall of the palace, and 143 men and 299 women in the castle. A party of workers, with the four master tent-makers moved north in mid May and probably engaged local labour there. Before the move, the tents and pavilions had been taken to the isle of S. Gracian on the Loire, and there set up and guarded. Work still continued after the arrival in the north. At Boulogne there were 190 men and 262 women working for five days from June 1st. A sudden crisis is revealed in the making of 10 lb. of blue dye, in haste, for the pavilions. At Ardres the final spurt needed 223 men and 38 women. Work continued until June 14th, well after the opening of the conference. Torches were much in demand, for the work was by day and night. There were five officials at Ardres to urge on the workers to the ultimate effort. The wage bill for the tent-makers is, as would be expected, the heaviest item in wages of the craftsmen employed (about £4,600 out of £5,788).

Other craftsmen were the carpenters and smiths, for there was need of stout masts, supports, riggings, windows, and 'lights'. The smiths used four forges in the archbishop's courtyard. Six of them travelled north. Of the carpenters and joiners, the former earned 6s. of Tours a day, working under the master carpenter Alain Poulet. Nineteen carpenters made the journey north, but even so twelve more from Montreuil were brought to work at Boulogne and Ardres from June 1st. The tents and pavilions were unpacked and repacked at Boulogne, twenty-four sailors being employed. They made ladders of rope, and with these and wooden ladders they scaled the masts to erect the tents at Ardres, and to hang the embellishments. Thirty-five copper pulleys were used in the heavy work of erecting the masts in place so that operations could begin.

The transport had been a major operation. The tents and enrichments, the latter carefully packed between layers of serge to preserve them, went by land, by horse and cart. From the élections (districts for taxation purposes) of Orleans, Blois, Vendôme, Chateaudun, Chartres, Dreux, Domedain, and Tours, were assembled 104 carters with 466 horses, payment being at the rate of 5s. of Tours per day per horse. Musters were taken at stages on the route, the party arriving in Ardres itself being 55 carters and 250 horses. At the end of the meeting, 39 carters and 168 horses made the weary journey back to Tours.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, f. 39<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>.

The services of 200 pioneers had been necessary to prepare the ground at Ardres. There were ditches to be dug, hedges to be cut down and other obstacles removed. The paths between Ardres and Guines were also to be prepared. The unfortunate owner of the meadow where the tents and pavilions were erected saw the ditches filled up, hedges cut to the ground, and grass wasted. He received compensation, as did the Prior and Convent of Boulogne, and the nuns of the hospital there, whose buildings and land had been used for working on the tents and pavilions. A close belonging to the nuns had to be mowed before time. The tent-making was throughout an artillery responsibility, and both at Tours and in the north, gunners mounted guard over the tents and their costly fittings.<sup>1</sup>

We have no full description or pictorial record of the scene at Ardres. A French eyewitness states that as Ardres was old and in decay, the fosses and ramparts were repaired. Near a small river outside the town, an encampment of between 300 and 400 tents sprang up, richly decked, and emblazoned with the arms of their owners. The precise details, bare bones only, from the accounts already mentioned, have somehow to be amalgamated with the graphic descriptions of eyewitnesses, by no means always in accord, to produce some idea of what these tents and pavilions looked like. The King had one large tent or pavilion, 'as high as the tallest tower', '60 paces high', '120 ft high', according to eyewitnesses. It was supported by tall masts lashed together, their height being sufficient for a ship of 400 butts. It may be that an entry in the artillery accounts for two masts of 54 ft relates to this tent. The structure is said to have measured 16 paces across in the central area, and to have been surrounded by a gallery 8 paces wide.<sup>2</sup> The accounts themselves mention a great pavilion made of thirty-two walls, with four galleries around it. The whole was covered in cloth of gold with three lateral stripes of blue velvet 'powdered' with golden fleur-de-lis, each stripe the full width of the velvet. The cloth of gold cover, made in four pieces each with twelve points, was attached to the tent by wide violet taffeta from Genoa. At the summit was a statue of St. Michael, patron saint of France and of the royal order of chivalry. It had been carved

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, f. 31<sup>v</sup>, 161<sup>v</sup>–172<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 60; LP, III (i), 869, 870 (pp. 308–11: the full text of this section is in B. De Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la monarchie française*, Paris 1732, IV, 164–81).



in walnut by Guillaume Arnoult, and then painted blue and gold by Jean Bourdichon, painter to the King (as to his predecessors), who also painted other figures or 'patrons' for the tents and pavilions. The statue, which was life-size, rested on a golden ball or 'pinot'. The saint was dressed in a blue mantle, strewn with golden fleur-de-lis; in his right hand he held a lance, and in his left a shield with the arms of France upon it. Under St. Michael's feet was a serpent and an apple (symbols of Satan and sin) for St. Michael had driven the rebellious angels from Heaven and was usually represented with a serpent or dragon at his feet. From the statue's feet spread out a 'sun' of ten rays, each 5 aunes long, of blue velvet powdered with fleur-de-lis; the accounts mention forty-eight or fifty-two lilies to the aune. The pavilion was lined with blue velvet, powdered with fleur-de-lis, and with *toille d'or*, and the ceiling was decked with golden fringes. The tent ropes were in the royal colours, and stout enough for a ship.<sup>1</sup>

On June 5th, this great tent was unfinished, as were three medium sized tents, about 20 paces in diameter, which were to be covered in the same material as the great tent, and to stand near it. The smaller pavilions served one as chapel or secret chamber, one as wardrobe, and a *chambre de conseil* is also mentioned. There were 'false' pavilions or divisions within the great tent, for we read of four pieces of cloth of gold cut in forty-six points, with fringes, for these 'false' pavilions. The three smaller pavilions had cloth of gold covers cut in twenty-six points, with fringes of black white and violet, the points being the same length as those of the great pavilion. Each pavilion had windows and 'lights', decorated with golden fleur-de-lis and covered with fine linen or cotton cloth. There was somewhere a room for the king decked with black velvet, figured, and with embroidery. Fifteen smaller pavilions stood at some 50 paces from this central group. All the tents and pavilions were decorated with golden apples, and with banners with the royal arms. We read of 117 golden apples and 117 banners painted gold and blue in the arms of the King, the Queen, and the Queen Mother, and 211 smaller golden apples for the ends of the masts, windows, and 'lights'.

The French array of tents also included a special banqueting pavilion. It had foundations of brick 12 in. high and walls of board 30 in. high painted to resemble brick. It was a rotunda; one

<sup>1</sup> BN. MS. Français 10383, ff. 20<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>–195<sup>v</sup>; SPV, III, 60.

account mentions that it measured 240 paces in circuit, that it was covered with azure velvet powdered with fleur-de-lis, and hung inside with tapestries.<sup>1</sup> It may be the same as the 'house of solace and sport' mentioned by the English eyewitness Edward Hall, in which case it was sustained by a mighty mast, and had its roof of blue set with golden stars, the orbs of the heavens and a crescent, the latter covered with ivy and box. This banquetting house was compared (by the Seigneur de Florange) with that erected in a quadrangle of the Bastille for the entertainments given to the English ambassadors in 1518. This was planked and carpeted in the King's colours, the walls were covered with blue cloth with golden balls upon it, there were hangings of gold brocade, and celestial signs, made of pasteboard, enriched the whole. Hall mentioned the pillars, covered with 'antique works' and the roof 'set full of sterres gilt furnished with glasses between the fretes.'<sup>2</sup> The starry roof, and the use of celestial signs, so much in fashion in an age bewitched by astrology, make it very probable that the two buildings strongly resembled each other. It should perhaps be mentioned that, in contemporary parlance a banquet might be a feast, or a light refreshment between meals, or the course of sweetmeats, fruit, and wine taken after the principal meal or as a separate entertainment. This latter, the equivalent of our 'dessert', was often, then as now, taken in a special room.

There was, of course, not only the King to provide for. The Queen of France, the Queen Mother, and the great nobles also had their tents and pavilions. The Queen had a tent and two or more small pavilions, embellished with *toille d'or* and *toille d'argent*, and violet satin strewn with fleur-de-lis and ermines. The ermines (of Brittany, for Claude was daughter and heiress of Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII) were of black velvet on silver cloth; 16,224 of them are recorded in the accounts. The Queen Mother had a tent and some small pavilions. Hers were covered in crimson satin and purple velvet, strewn with fleur-de-lis and white crosses (the emblem of Savoy) of silver mounted on crimson satin. There were forty-four white crosses to the aune, the total number being 14,283 (no rough accounting methods here). The great nobles, with tents decorated in their own colours, completed the array. We know that the Duke of Alençon (husband of the King's sister

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 60, 83. These make it clear that the banquetting pavilion was in addition to the great St. Michael one.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 173, 194; Rawdon Brown, ii, 305-6.

Marguerite) afterwards purchased his tent and two pavilions, forming his chamber and wardrobe, garnished in satin and with fringes in his colours, and decked with golden apples and iron pennants in his colours. René, Bastard of Savoy (the Queen Mother's half brother), the Chancellor, the Admiral, and several others did likewise. A veritable forest of pavilions and tents had therefore been constructed by the royal workmen. The Seigneur de Florange comments on these tents: 'their cloth of gold, devices and golden apples were very beautiful in the sunlight'. A later writer termed the array '*une ville de merveilleuses tapisseries flottantes*'. Some final indication of the overpowering richness comes from the accounts. There were purchased 72,544 fleur-de-lis of gold thread mounted on blue velvet, and 327 pounds weight of silken fringes in the royal colours, black, white, tawny, and violet. For some reason the Queen Mother was much interested in these enrichments. The Venetian ambassador reported that she had bought an emporium of silks for the arrayment of the court, and that nothing was thought of but cloth of gold finery. Louise was kept informed before the meeting of the procurement of materials and embellishments, for letters and two packets of cloth of gold were sent to her at Marquise at the end of May. After the meeting, the King ordered that she was to be given any of the remaining embellishments which she might desire.<sup>1</sup>

The royal family and the most illustrious courtiers had no doubt some measure of comfort. Others were less fortunate. Budé, the royal librarian, complained of his straitened lodgings, where he had no materials for writing. Lesser mortals were no doubt in even greater discomfort. Cellini, when he followed the court's endless movement in normal times, revealed that the numbers were so great that the court set up canvas tents like gypsies.<sup>2</sup> At Ardres, with the abnormal numbers, conditions were no doubt appalling.

It is disappointing to find that, despite all this care and unremitting toil, the French tents and pavilions met with disaster. An eyewitness records that after only four days they had to be taken down, because of the wind and rain. The mast of the great pavilion with St. Michael was broken. We do not know whether it was possible to re-erect this 'city' of temporary lodgings; presumably

<sup>1</sup> BN. MS. Français 10383 f. 20<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>, 170<sup>v</sup>, 191<sup>r</sup>, 198<sup>v</sup>. SPV, III, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *The life of Benvenuto Cellini, newly trans. by J. A. Symonds*, London 1889, p. 306.

it may have been, but the records are silent.<sup>1</sup> Francis I clearly had some permanent lodging within the village itself; the banquet to the English King on July 10th was held there, since the great pavilion was not then finished. The English commissioners noted that the King had taken four houses at Ardres, and a great piece of the abbey called 'Anderne' (Andres, between Guines and Ardres).

In the meantime, the English at Guines had been still more ambitious. The castle there was declared neither 'meet nor convenient' to receive the King and Queen or to entertain the King and Queen of France; on March 13th ambassador Wingfield reported that it was not fit to be seen and must be put in a state of defence.<sup>2</sup> Under the general direction of the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Worcester, three commissioners, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir William Sands, and Sir Edward Belknap, were appointed to construct, either within or near the castle, an 'honorable lodging'. Vaux, created Lord Vaux of Harrowden in 1523, had been knighted in 1487, lieutenant of Guines in 1502, a great landowner and encloser who entertained the King in 1511, and led a life divided between Guines in the summer months and England in the winter. He was a royal ambassador to France in 1514 and 1518, and knight of the shire for Northamptonshire. Sands, Baron Sands of the Vine near Basingstoke, had been knight of the body in 1509, had entertained the King in 1510, in which year he became Constable of Southampton. In 1517 he was Treasurer of Calais, and in 1518 was made Knight of the Garter. He became Lord Chamberlain and also Captain of Guines in the years after 1520. Belknap, a native of Kent, was already a trusted royal servant in the time of Henry VII. In 1499 esquire of the body, he undertook varied service to the crown, and in 1508 held the new office of surveyor of the King's prerogative. In 1513 he served on the French expedition, where he was knighted, in 1514 he was surveyor of crown lands, and also surveyor of wards, and held an annuity of the King. He became Chief Butler of England, and at his death early in 1521 he held annuities of the crown totalling some £400 and further sums, in fees for local offices, bringing his cash income to £800 and more, a solid fortune at that time. The commission of 1520 was his last personal service to the Crown; clearly both Belknap and his two colleagues were distinguished

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 94; LP, III (i), 750, 870; *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 82-5.

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 678.



public servants, and their appointment to this work showed the importance placed upon it.<sup>1</sup>

The three commissioners had detailed instructions, and a plan or 'platt' of the 'honorable lodging' they were to build. They landed at Calais. Their activities are known from the building accounts preserved in the Public Record Office, and kept by Robert Fowler, who hired workmen and disbursed money for the expenses. He was concerned with monetary affairs at Calais in this period, and was no doubt on the staff of the Treasurer there. From at least March 12th, material was being transported to Guines, some from England but much from elsewhere. An army of workmen were assembled: Hall gives a figure of 3,000, Stow 2,000. The Calais chronicle mentions the King's master mason, the master carpenter, 300 masons, 500 carpenters, 100 joiners, many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths and other artificers, both from England and Flanders, to the number of 2,000 and more. We may note the concentration on building rather than tents, and the resulting contrast in the French and English labour force. By March 26th the commissioners wrote that 200 masons and bricklayers could not deal with the new works and also the repairs to the castle walls and tower (the keep being beyond repair). They asked for 250 carpenters, 100 joiners, 60 sawyers, 40 plasterers, 1,000 ft of wainscot, also (William) Vertue, the King's master mason, who should bring with him 150 bricklayers. The masons could not live on their wages, carrying service was difficult to find, and materials were far off. On April 10th 80 sawyers were still awaited.

The problem of material was indeed great. There was little timber near Guines, and insufficient felled or sawn wood in London and the parts of England near the channel. The commissioners therefore sent an official, William Lylgrave, to Holland, from where timber (including wainscot) was sent to Calais by sea, and thence by land to Guines. On April 10th this timber was anxiously awaited. It was floated down from Holland, being so long that it had to be bound together and brought 'without any shype, for no shype mowght receyve it'. This statement (from the *Chronicle of Calais*) presumably means that the wood was towed,

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 704; BM. MS. Add. 4620, f. 312<sup>r</sup>-322<sup>r</sup>; *Archaeologia*, XXXI 177. *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 18, 79-82. Biographical details; Vaux and Sands from DNB; Belknap from W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration*, Louisiana, 1952, pp. 195-215.



as in fact Stow's narrative has it. Meanwhile, 500 tons of timber from 'the edge of Kent' was expected. 4,000 ft of glass was brought from St. Omer, and another consignment of 1,000 ft is mentioned. Stone was found locally at Fiennes, within the English domain, and very near Guines.<sup>1</sup>

The roof of this temporary palace caused particular trouble to Richard Gibson, Sergeant of the Tents, and therefore much concerned with court entertainments. In the reign of Henry VII he was a player in the interludes at court, then held office in the Wardrobe, and was made Sergeant of the Tents (an ancient office going back to at least the twelfth century) in 1518.<sup>2</sup> His work when any festivity was on hand was manifold and heavy. The roofs of 1520 were, for instance, to be covered with seared canvas, but on April 10th, Gibson had not arrived at Guines, and the commissioners wrote that it was high time his work was in hand, for the outside had to be painted and then decorated with knots, batons in gilt, and other devices. The painting was to be done by John Rastell, Clement Urmeston, and John Browne, the King's painter. Their work fell behindhand, which caused the commissioners to wish that they could threaten imprisonment.<sup>3</sup> Rastell was a gifted man, lawyer, author, chronicler, printer, and an ardent supporter of the Reformation. He had his own theatre at Finsbury, and was known for his dramatic works, an interlude *The Four Elements* showing his special interest in cosmology. He was married to the sister of Sir Thomas More. Urmeston, also an ardent reformer and propagandist, was employed on decorations at Esher, York Place, and Westminster in the years following 1520. He also had an interest in cosmology. John Brown, King's painter from 1512, had been earlier employed on heraldic painting. He had supplied and painted materials for the funerals of Prince Arthur and of Henry VII, and by 1527 was promoted 'sergeant painter'.<sup>4</sup> The skill of heraldic painters, who worked with minute precision and in all variety of materials, should not be underestimated. In France Clouet worked on painting flags and banners,

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 796, 826 (original accounts in PRO SPI/20); Hall, i, 181; John Stow, *The Annales of England*, London 1592, p. 85; *Chronicle of Calais* pp. 18-19, 79-82.

<sup>2</sup> Details from S. Anglo, 'Le camp du drap d'or' in *Les fêtes de la renaissance* ed. J. Jacquot, Paris 1960, ii, 129. Cf. E. K. Chambers, *Notes on the history of the Revels Office under the Tudors*, London 1906.

<sup>3</sup> PRO SPI/20, f. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Anglo, loc. cit., pp. 130-1; E. Auerbach, *Tudor artists*, London 1954, pp. 7-8.

and Holbein also took a share in this work in England. In 1520, Brown may have had the help of the Neapolitan painter Vincent Volpe, mentioned in the royal accounts from 1511 onwards. In 1513 Volpe painted banners and streamers for the royal ships, and in 1514 painted the *Henry grâce à Dieu*. He also did topographical drawings or 'platts'. In 1520 he went on a mission to Antwerp, probably for material for the buildings at Guines, for he was paid by the commissioners of that work. He may have worked there in collaboration with Galyon Hone the King's glazier.<sup>1</sup>

On April 18th, the commissioners at Guines wrote that they could finish the square court of the new building, provided that Rastell, Urmeston, and Brown would garnish the roofs, a marvellous great charge, for the roofs were large and stately. They were held up for lack of money; but eventually all went well, for Brown was paid £33 6s. 8d. for 'gilding and garnishing' the roofs.<sup>2</sup> These roofs have, incidentally, confused historians, for in one calendar of documents they are referred to as 'roses' (a certain error in transcription) and so we read the curious statement that the 'king be not disappointed of his roses'. The fact that there were some rose decorations increases the confusion.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to these special craftsmen, the commissioners asked for one Maynn, employed by the Bishop of Exeter, and for master Berkeley (John Barclay), black monk and poet, who were to devise mottoes and sayings for the building and banquet house. Maynn may be Nicholas Maynwaring, canon of Exeter in 1525, and probably a bishop's chaplain before that; Barclay has already been mentioned, and the contemporary practice of employing court poets to help with the symbolism and allegory of pageant and joust. In addition, the heralds played a special part. At Guines, Garter King of Arms was to make a book of the coats of arms, beasts, fowls, devices, badges and cognizances of the King, the Queen, the French King and others, a most necessary guide in the complexities of decoration, both in the building, the banquets and the feat of arms. The Duke of Suffolk was said to have many

<sup>1</sup> Auerbach, op. cit., p. 190; and 'Vincent Volpe, the King's painter' in *Burlington Magazine*, 1950, pp. 222-7.

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 737, 750; *ibid.*, III (ii), p. 1540; *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 82-5; BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D. VII, f. 192<sup>r</sup>, 208<sup>v</sup>, 224<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), 737, 750; correct version from BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D. VII as quoted in note (24) and *Chronicle of Calais*. This was written before Mr. Anglo's recent article appeared, in which the same conclusion was reached (see below p. 36, note 1).

batons made by Urmeston and also several King's arms and beasts cast in moulds, which the commissioners asked for to help in the embellishments.<sup>1</sup>

It seems likely that another royal craftsman was at work at Guines, Humphrey Coke, the King's Chief Carpenter (wages 12*d.* a day) since 1519. Chief carpenter at Berwick on Tweed, he designed and built the roofs of the Halls at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and at Wolsey's Cardinal College (Christ Church), his finest extant work. He was a craftsman of mettle, but may well have found his skill taxed with the bustle and hurry of the work in 1520.<sup>2</sup>

What kind of building was thus taxing the resources and imagination of the King's best servants? We have some written evidence from the commissioners, some chroniclers' and other eyewitness accounts, and in addition a pictorial record. At Hampton Court there is a painting of the scene (Plate III), perhaps a companion piece to the *Embarkation of Henry VIII* (see p. 62). In this painting, the castle of Guines is in the foreground, with the 'temporary palace' on the right; behind Guines, is the castle of Hammes, surrounded by water; Calais and Ardres can be seen in the far distance. This arrangement involves some sacrifice of topography to artistic convenience. Into the castle of Guines there winds the royal procession with King and Cardinal and their accompanying retinues; behind the palace there is a scene of the first meeting of Henry and Francis, while in the right background there are the lists for the feat of arms. Near the temporary palace is a tent with a banquet in progress (perhaps Mary Tudor with her husband), and behind it a large golden tent, probably also for banquets. The painting contains inaccuracies, when compared with the written evidence; but these, although considerable (they are analysed below) are balanced by many striking parallels, showing that great care was taken in the composition. The work is clearly by several hands (two perhaps also recognizable in the work of the companion piece). It was once attributed to Hans Holbein the younger (a possibility now certainly ruled out), to Vincent Volpe (who was probably at work at Guines), to Cornelis Anthonisz, but the most acceptable attribution at present appears to be to some painter/painters of the Netherlandish school. A

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 737, 750, 796, 826; *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> John H. Harvey, 'The King's Chief Carpenters', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, XI, 1948; 'The building works and architects of Cardinal Wolsey', *ibid.*, 3rd series, VIII, 1943.

recent suggestion that the work (and its companion piece) was an Elizabethan copy of wall paintings executed for Henry VIII in the Orchard Gallery of Whitehall Palace, is ingenious but not entirely convincing.<sup>1</sup> It may indeed be that the painting was undertaken some time after the event, although it does not seem proven that its absence from the inventories of 1542 and 1547 compels a dating after the latter year. One striking feature is that King Henry's head has clearly been removed and then reinserted. It used to be thought that this was done during the Interregnum to save the painting from sale to the French, but in fact there is evidence that the painting was headless in 1621. The head now seen accords with Holbein's characterization of the King in his 1537 painting. It seems clear that the work was an official one in the style of the topographical paintings then in fashion. It may have inaccuracies, but it is exciting to have the bare bones of historical evidence for once so richly come to life. The eyewitnesses who left written evidence are many. Edward Hall provides the main account, but there are other eyewitnesses, French and Italian<sup>2</sup>, to supplement the picture. From all these, confusing as they may sometimes be, it would be fainthearted not to attempt some reconstruction of the palace, the wonder of the meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Joseph Ayloffe, 'An historical description of an ancient picture in Windsor Castle, representing the interview between King Henry VIII, and the French King Francis I, between Guines and Ardres, in the year 1520', in *Archaeologia*, III, 1775, pp. 183-229; S. Anglo, 'The Hampton Court painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold considered as an historical document', in *The Antiquaries Journal*, xlv, 1966, ii, pp. 287-307; Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and early Georgian pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London 1963, i, pp. 55-6 (No. 25); E. Auerbach, 'Vincent Volpe, the King's painter', in *Burlington Magazine*, 1950, p. 237 note 46; N. Beets, in *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, p. 180 (attribution to Anthonisz); G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of art in Great Britain*, London, 1854, ii, 366 (attribution to the Netherlandish school); R. Strong (*Holbein and Henry VIII*, London 1967, pp. 24-6) suggests that both paintings are Elizabethan copies of the Orchard Gallery wall paintings by John Raff and others. The latter are described in the Henrician accounts as the coronation of the King and 'certayne other werkes'. The former first appear in accounts for 1588-9, when they are referred to as the King's coronation and 'his going to Bulleyne' (Boulogne). This common reference to the coronation is the main substance of Strong's thesis. The whole question is extremely complicated, particularly as the Elizabethan reference to the crossing to Boulogne is itself a mistake if the 1520 meeting is intended. By Charles II's reign, one was known as the King's 'going into the Towne of Bullen' and the other as his 'going to Bullen with his fleete'.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 168-9; SPV, III, 50, 60, 83, 88, 94 (No. 50 contains a report by the Mantuan ambassador Soardino, and No. 94 is by him; No. 60 is by the Genoese Gioan Joachino; No. 83 is by Count Alexandro Donado, and No. 88 a French report to Milan).



The basic plan was a 'square court' (the commissioners' words) described by Hall as a 'quadrant' (the word could then be used for a quadrangle), and estimated by him as 328 ft square, a figure not widely different from other details known. The building was crenellated and embattled, with four towers at the corners, a gatehouse at the front flanked by towers, and an inner court round which the four ranges of building, including the gatehouse, were grouped. There were some Renaissance motifs decorating this essentially medieval fabric; the building in fact resembles, though with greater elaboration, the castle façade for a tournament (c. 1500) preserved in a drawing at the British Museum, and noticed in a study of early English stages.<sup>1</sup> As is well known, a castle could stand for a country, both in tournament and in stage production, and this embattled palace was in fact an 'exhibition piece' for England overseas. A Genoese observer, Joachino, mentions that the palace stood in a large square a good 60 paces in length, surrounded by a moat, and beyond that a barricade of brocade, with two entrances, leading to the hall.

The building was a temporary, and therefore, light structure. The base was of brick (on a stone foundation), to a height of about 8 ft above ground, then the walls rose about 30 ft, and were made of timber painted to look like brick. There was a wide expanse of windows, at first floor level, and above them a cornice, then a frieze about 5 ft deep, decorated with foliage. The roof, of 'seared canvas' was 'curiously painted' to look like slate, and there were chimneys of stone. It may be that, as one observer indicated, there were four lanterns over the four ranges of building; only one is shown in the painting, above the gatehouse, and its exact relation to the building below is not made clear. A French observer mentions that the design of the building was taken from that of a merchant's house in Calais, and that the four ranges of building had been prefabricated in England: 'Un logis de bois ou y avoit quatre corps de maison qu'il avoit faict charpentier en Angleterre et amener par mer toute faicte'. It is certain that much of the preparatory work had been done in England, but we do not know how far this had gone: floating down timber from Holland to Calais does not sound like prefabrication of the main structure in England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> George Kernodle, *From art to theatre*, Chicago 1943, p. 94 (fig. 33) and Glynne Wickham, *Early English stages 1300-1600*, London 1959, i, 29 (fig. 1) (from BM. MS. Harleian 69 f. 20<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Du Bellay, i, 101; SPV, III, 88; Hall, i, 189-93.



Now to the details. In the foreground of the Hampton court painting, we can see the two fountains mentioned by Hall. On the right (as one went in to the palace) there was a fountain, gilt and blue, engraved with 'antique workes'. The painting shows an octagonal base supporting three cruciform storeys, crowned by a bell-shaped top. The whole was surmounted by a statue of 'the old God of wyne Bacchus birlying (pouring out) the wyne'. The wine ran through conduits 'red, white, and claret wine', and there was an inscription above the god's head 'Faicte bonne chere quy vouldra' (let who will make merry) (a detail omitted in the painting). On the other side of the entrance another fountain took the form of a pillar 'of auncient Romayne woorke', gilded, supported by four lions, and crowned by the statue of Cupid 'with his bowe and arrowes of love redy by his semyng to stryke younge people to love'.<sup>1</sup> In the painting there are four lions' heads, as in the other fountain (perhaps Hall recollected imperfectly here). We know that each fountain had wine running, and that there were silver cups for all to drink from. In the painting, as Mr. Anglo has pointed out in a recent study, the mechanics of the second fountain appear faulty, for the wine does not reach ground level, and no one is attempting to drink.

The entrance to this palace contained a gatehouse, under the rule of two porters, Edward Knyvet (sergeant) and Evan ap Rice, with four messengers. It was an imposing structure, flanked by a red brick tower on either side, matching the four towers at the corners of the building, and like them defended by statues of men casting stones and shooting iron balls from cannons and culverins (the latter detail not shown in the painting). According to Hall, there were above the gateway statues of ancient princes, Hercules, Alexander and others, but of these the artist gives no trace. What is shown is a winged figure, wearing a skull cap, with a cross in his right hand, and in his left a shield, a dragon at his feet. The figure is set between two union roses (of Lancaster and York), and surmounted by the royal coat of arms. There seems little doubt that this figure is St. Michael, a conclusion reached some time ago by the present writer, and now confirmed by Mr. Anglo in his analysis of the painting. He dismisses the figure, suggesting that 'the artists have simply bungled' by remembering perhaps the statue over King Francis's great pavilion. It would seem however that there may be grounds for accepting the

<sup>1</sup> Hall, I, 189-90.

evidence in the painting. Surely no official painting would 'bungle' in so important a detail as the use of the patron saint of France? There is an obscure comment by Wingfield in a memorial on the feat of arms, that St. George is left out, for consideration of more indifference (neutrality), and put with the celestial hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this refers to some decorative scheme for the lists. It may be, that the palace statues, on the other hand, included both St. Michael (as just indicated) and St. George, for there is a figure of St. George in the painting of the building, above the pediment on the gatehouse. St. Michael may have been included to balance the English patron saint, and in compliment to the French who would be entertained there. Indeed, it may be that the winged female figure crowning the hexagonal tower or lantern on the roof (as shown in the painting) is some allegorical figure linking the two saints. Patron saints were invoked, for instance, to intercede for peace between their countries, and it may be that the topmost figure bears some relationship to a theme of 'peace' or 'friendship'. A suggestion that she may be 'Religion', made in 1770 by Ayloffe, has not been accepted by later writers.<sup>2</sup> Other decorations on the roofs were vanes and heraldic beasts, if the painting is accepted as accurate. In fact, a whole world of symbolism is indicated by these motifs.

What distinguished the building to contemporaries was the large expanse of glass. One wrote that half the building was glass, the windows the most beautiful he had ever seen. We are told that large double windows, divided by pilasters, with diamond panes, lit the rooms on the first floor. Eight may be seen in the painting of the front façade. One eyewitness mentions bay windows and clerestories, curiously glazed, with gilt posts and mullions. Another speaks of windows all round the building, both inside and out, which made one feel as if in the open air. This remark is explained by the inner court, severally described as a vestibule, a quadrangle and an atrium, which may be seen in the painting through the entrance gate. The whole is like an embattled college quadrangle, and the porter's lodge increased the similarity. The roof lanterns also had windows, one observer mentions a lantern over each range of building, with octagonal windows, more for ornament than light. Galyon Hone, the King's glazier, would have had the overseeing of this part of the fabric, and he is paid in this

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 704, 807 (Original in PRO S.P.1. 20).

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, III, 204.

year for 'setting up the king's glass' very probably at Guines.<sup>1</sup>

On the ground floor of the palace were the 'offices'. The Genoese, Joachino, mentions that this floor had windows, with fine grating before them, arched and seemingly of iron (but in fact of painted wood), and that as they were opposite one another and well spaced, they added to the grace of the quadrangle. In the painting, no such windows are shown; it may have been that they gave only on to the inner courtyard? We know from the written evidence that the 'offices' included a privy pantry, a hall pantry, a privy cellar, a hall cellar, a privy buttery, a hall buttery (the distinction in each case no doubt being between the cellar, etc. for the royal personages, and that for the lower tables or separate halls), a pitcher house for plates and pots, a room for silver vessels, the ewery (where ewers, or pitchers were kept), the confiserie (with a partition), the spicery, scullery, and saucery, and three empty 'houses' within the quadrangle which might serve as chaundry (where candles were kept), jewel house, and a room for the cofferer and clerks of the 'green cloth' (the accounting officer of the Household and his clerks). There was also a special 'wardrobe' for beds. We are told that the very large cellar, which all guests might sample, held 3,000 butts of the choicest wines in the world. In old houses adjoining the palace there was to be a waffry (where wafers and cakes were made), the larders, poultry, scalding house, scullery, laundry (by the mill), ovens, a working house for pastry cooks and halls for larders, making a total of sixteen halls and pavilions. It may have been that these 'houses' communicated with the main building by means of underground passages.<sup>2</sup>

The state apartments on the first floor, with their vast windows, are variously and confusingly described. The exact and final allocation of rooms cannot be fully determined. In March, the commissioners wrote that the King, the Queen, the Cardinal and the King's sister should each have three rooms. The King would have one large chamber 124 ft by 42 ft and 30 ft high, wider and larger than the 'Whitte halle' at Westminster. Another chamber, to dine in, would be 80 ft by 34 ft and 27 ft high. The third, to withdraw to, would be 40 ft by 34 ft and 27 ft high. The Queen

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 60, 94; LP, III (i), 826; Florange, i, 264; Hall, i, 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Rutland papers. Original documents . . . selected from the archives of His Grace the Duke of Rutland by William Jerdan*, Camden Society, London 1842, pp. 39-40; SPV, III, 70, 77.

would have three rooms as large if not larger than the King's. A gallery would lead (under the floor, for lack of space) from the King's lodging to the Queen's secret chamber. Another gallery from the Queen's lodging would give access to the bridge of the castle. The palace is stated to have been some 400 paces away from the castle and in the event to have been connected to it by long corridors. Another gallery 40 ft long was to lead from the room 'hault place' between the King's and Queen's lodgings to a chapel (100 ft long, 42 ft broad, and 30 ft high). All these buildings, except the chapel and one gallery (to the castle), would be within the quadrant. There would be a separate banqueting house, outside the castle wall, but within the newly made 'brayes'. It would measure 220 ft by 70 ft and be as high as the timber would allow. All these buildings were estimated to be more than those of the royal palaces at Bridewell (where Henry built anew to receive Charles V in 1522), Eltham (built by Edward IV), or Greenwich, which caused the commissioners to fear that they would not be finished on time.<sup>1</sup>

In fact not all this plan could be carried out. By April 10th, when the building rose only 10 ft from the ground, the commissioners warned that *both* banqueting house and chapel could not be finished by the end of May. They asked which should be built. We know that the chapel was, and it seems certain that the banqueting house was abandoned (perhaps an elaborate tent was used instead, as the Hampton Court painting suggests?). What seems to have been done was to construct a large hall in the 'palace' itself, and rearrange the plan accordingly. We are told that one side, and a quarter of the area of building, was taken up by this hall. A staircase with broad stairs, covered in the Italian fashion, led up to this hall. This stairway, directly *opposite* the main gate or lodge (fronting the atrium, which you entered through the main gate, is one description) was decorated with 'images of sore and terrible countenances', all armed, in silver work. It also had antique images in gold, surrounded with 'verdure of olives'. This description means that the hall was at the back of the building and would have taken up the whole of one side of the building, being 328 ft in length, if Hall's figures are correct. Joachino's report is that it was 160 paces by 30, perhaps an overestimate. Whatever the exact size, it is certain that the hall was disproportionately long. The Mantuan ambassador writes of its being

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 80-2; LP, III (i), 700.



divided in two by tapestries, which accounts for another reference to 'two' banqueting halls. Another Italian wrote that the hall was as lofty as the Pesaro palace at San Benedetto, presumably the famous Pesaro palace which was in the parish of San Benedetto Venice.<sup>1</sup> At one extremity to this hall, there was the long corridor leading to the castle (now shown in the painting) which we shall refer to later (it seems to have run from the hall, and not from the Queen's lodging as originally planned).

If the essentials of the original plan were otherwise adhered to, that Wolsey's lodgings should be on one side of the gatehouse, and the Duchess of Suffolk's on the other, Wolsey's rooms being next to the King's and the Duchess's next to the Queen's, then we should arrive at a quadrangle, with the great hall on the opposite side to the gatehouse, the King's and Queen's apartments down the sides of the building at right angles to the hall, and the Cardinal's and the Duchess's at the front, on either side of the gatehouse. As to the chapel, we know that it was at the back of the building; one writer says 'behind the building, adjoining it', hence perhaps we should not criticize the Hampton Court painter who viewed the building from the front, for omitting it. The commissioners had clearly stated from the first that the building 'except the chapell and oone gallery (that leading to it presumably) shalbe caste aftr a square courte'. Originally, there was to have been a 'hault place' between the King's and Queen's lodgings leading to the chapel; but it seems clear that when the banqueting hall had to be incorporated in the main building, the chapel and its gallery led out from that, the chapel itself was on the ground floor, and the royal 'oratories' or closets upstairs looking down on to the chapel from above. This is confirmed by one account which mentions that in the middle of the large entrance hall a small building was added, containing the two oratories which looked down on to the chapel below.<sup>2</sup>

We do not know whether the great personages for whom the palace was designed actually lodged there at night. The commissioners had written to Wolsey assuring him that he should lodge, surely, but not pleasantly, in the castle.<sup>3</sup> Hall states that the King had a secret lodging within the castle (hence no doubt the gallery from castle to palace). Perhaps the castle provided emergency

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 60, 94; *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 80-2.

<sup>2</sup> My account of the probable disposition of the rooms differs to some extent from that of Mr. Anglo, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> SPV, III, 88; LP, III (i), 700.



lodgings should sudden danger advise their use? The richness of the state apartments within the 'palace' certainly eclipsed what the castle can have been likely to provide. 'All the king's stuffe', both cloths of tissue and gold, with all the best and finest tapestry, had been sent over under the directions of the Lord Chamberlain, who had been instructed to cross the sea at least forty days before the meeting to supervise arrangements. Gold and silver plate were also transported. Hall describes the richness of tapestries, chairs of estate, cushions of 'Turkey making', and the main French account mentions tapestries of cloth of gold and silver, interlaced with silk in white and green, the King's colours. The Queen's tapestries, of silk and gold, with finely drawn foliage, would be the 'greeneries' or 'verdures', without personages, which were fashionable, and no doubt more restful than their historiated counterparts. Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, had gold and silver tapestries in one chamber, gold tissue and crimson velvet in the other. The initials embroidered on the velvet, M and L and the porcupines, show that these hangings were those she used as Queen of France and wife of Louis XII (whose emblem was the porcupine) and which we know that she took home, with jewels and plate, to the value of 20,000 crowns, after his death, and which so embittered Anglo-French negotiations thereafter. The Duchess's bedroom furniture was of cloth of gold. Perhaps the richness of Wolsey's apartments already rivalled or eclipsed even those of his master. A Mantuan account singled out the silken tapestry, gold on the outside, of astounding beauty, in the Cardinal's large hall, and also his bedstead with gilt posts, and with canopy, counterpane, and pillows of cloth of gold and crimson satin curtains.<sup>1</sup> His tapestries at Hampton Court which later included Bishop Ruthal's set of the Triumphs of Petrarch, were famous. The poet Skelton wrote (describing the Petrarch set) of

Aras of riche aray  
Fresshe as flours in May,  
With dame Dyana naked;  
Howe lusty Venus quaked  
And howe Cuyde shaken  
His darte and bent his bowe  
For to shote a crowe  
At her tyrly-tyrlowe.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 178-9; 283; Hall, i, 191-2; SPV, III, 50, 69, 83, 94; Montfaucon, IV, 168; LP, III (i), 869, 970.

We are told that all his eight rooms leading to his audience chamber were hung with tapestry, which was changed once a week. Something of this magnificence would have been transported to Guines, with no doubt the golden chair, golden cushion, and golden table cloth which he had taken into use on becoming Archbishop and Chancellor.<sup>1</sup>

The ceilings of these apartments were richly decorated. Hall states that they were sealed and covered with cloth of silk, heavily embellished, so that they had the appearance of bullions (here used in the obsolete sense of knobs or bosses) of fine burnt gold, with roses set in lozenges. Another account mentions the hall's ceiling of green sarsenet with gold roses. Round the walls ran a gilt cornice, with blue ornament like enamel, and with antique knots, with bosses, cast and wrought in gilt. From a second cornice, under the windows, were hung the tapestries already mentioned.<sup>2</sup> An Italian account mentions the floor of the hall, covered with chequered white and yellow taffeta, inset with red roses. Some rooms however had rushes strewn in the English manner, a custom which excited comment from the Italians, and had also been specially castigated (as unhealthy) by Erasmus. The richness of gilding throughout the apartments may be noticed. It was a contemporary fashion criticized by Thomas Starkey, who thought it vain pomp to consume gold on walls and posts in thus gilding and daubing.<sup>3</sup>

The chapel called forth great admiration. The choir was hung with cloth of gold and silk, the altars covered with cloth of gold embellished with pearls. Above, a gilded wooden roof with a frieze below it completed the splendour. On the high altar, under a rich canopy, were five pairs of candlesticks, a large crucifix, and statues of the Twelve Apostles, each as large as a child of four. There was a superb silver organ, ornamented in gilt. The King and Queen had 'oratories' or closets, which looked down, through windows, on to the chapel. The King's was hung with cloth of gold and green velvet, the pew of cloth of gold and green velvet

<sup>1</sup> Rawdon Brown, ii, 314; *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil* ed. with trans. by Denys Hay, Camden Society, London 1950, p. 231; John Skelton, *The poetical works: with some account of the author and his writings*, by the Rev. Alexander Dyce, London 1843, i, 347-8.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 191; SPV, III, 83.

<sup>3</sup> SPV, III, 60, 69, 94; Erasmus, quoted in LP, II (i), ccix; Thomas Starkey, 'A dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset', in *England in the reign of King Henry VIII*, ed. J. M. Cowper, EETS, London 1898, p. 96.

with the King's badge, the rose, and the garter, quartered with lilies. The Queen's pew was in crimson velvet. The altar in the King's closet had six statues, a Nativity, St. George, St. Christopher, St. Ursula, St. Catherine, and St. Barbara. The Queen's altar also had six statues.

The vestments for the chapel, which Hall praises, as rich as might be bought in Florence, were all made from one piece of material, cloth of tissue powdered with red roses 'pricked' with fine gold, and embroidered with pearls and precious stones. These vestments may have been in addition to those from Westminster, for orders had been given that the abbey should lend its rich copes and the set of vestments given by Henry VII.<sup>1</sup> One such survives: the Henry VII cope once at Westminster, now the property of Stonyhurst College, and thought to have been used in 1520 (Plate I). It is of Florentine red and gold tissue, ornamented with red and white roses and crowned portcullises, and with a scene of the Annunciation embroidered on the back. Another Henry VII set may be identified from an unnoticed entry in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. It seems that Henry VII, when he landed from France, had his coursers caparisoned in velvet. One side was blue velvet, with antelopes 'drawing in mylles' (working mills?), the other green velvet, with antelopes sitting on stairs, and with flowers springing between their horns (antelopes were among the royal beasts). Presumably in thanks for victory, he gave the trappings to Westminster, and from each set was made a chasuble, a cope, and two tunicles. These vestments are listed in the 1540 inventory.<sup>2</sup> Another vestment used may have been the Westminster chasuble, now at Wardour Castle in Wiltshire. It was made from two fifteenth-century vestments, and bore the arms of Charles the Bold of Burgundy and his wife Margaret of York, and, as later additions, the Tudor roses, fleur-de-lis and portcullises, with the pomegranates of Catherine of Aragon.

The English palace, said to have been dismantled and taken to England after the meeting, surpassed anything that could have been imagined. Even Budé, not notoriously interested in these things, wrote that it might occupy the eyes and attention for some days of the least excitable man, accustomed to such spectacles. One Venetian eyewitness said that Leonardo the Florentine could

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 192-3; VSP, III, 50, 69, 83, 88; *Archaeologia*, XXI, 178.

<sup>2</sup> Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 94<sup>v</sup>; 1540 inventory in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, IV, 329.

not have done so well nor so judiciously. Another Italian compared it with the imaginary palaces described by Boiardo in his *Orlando Inamorato*, and by Ariosto in his *Orlando Furioso*, very early references to these poems. (The full text of Boiardo was first printed in 1495, and Ariosto in 1516). Even the covered way from palace to castle was romanticized. A French eyewitness wrote of a winding alley covered with verdure, and compared it with the palace of Daedalus (the palace and labyrinth traditionally built by Daedalus for Minos at Knossos in Crete). Another comparison was with the garden of Morgan la Fée in Arthurian legend.<sup>1</sup> Such praises were high indeed. Incidentally the gallery is not shown in the Hampton Court painting; this may be artistic licence, or it may be that it ran from the back of the palace. It clearly existed and was one marvel among many.

It was not intended that the palace should lodge the multitude, and the castle was unable to. Orders were given that, since the castle could not hold all the household and the royal guard, tents, halls and pavilions were to be set up in a place assigned by the commissioners. Richard Gibson, Sergeant of the Tents, here came into his own. There were to be 'certain tables' with messes for the officers of the household and chamber, to which the King's ministers and others attending him could resort. Hall tells us that the English put up tents to the number of 820, to lodge those who could not be lodged in Guines. The Venetian ambassador (Antonio Surian, LL.D.) wrote home gloomily stating that he had been told to bring his own tent, as no other habitation could be had. Certainly, many must have lived in great discomfort. Hall states that many came from Picardy and West Flanders to see the King of England and to sample the food and the wine running at the gate, so that vagabonds, ploughmen, labourers, and of the 'braggery' waggoners and beggars lay in drunken routes and heaps. 'So great resort thether came, that both knightes and ladies that were come to see the noblenes were fayne to lye in hay and straw, and held them thereof highly pleased.'<sup>2</sup> One is reminded of Barclay's version of Aeneas Sylvius on the miseries of court life:

And sometimes these courtiers them more to incumber,  
Slepe all in one chamber nere twenty in number.  
Then it is great sorrow for to abide their shoute,  
Some fart, some flingeth, and other snort and route.

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 81, 83, 88; Montfaucon, IV, 168-9; LP, III (i), 870.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 179, 183; Hall, i, 193, 218; SPV, III, 41.



Some boke, and some bable, some commeth dronk to bed,  
Some braule and some iangle when they be beastly fed.  
Some laugh, and some crye, eche man will haue his wil,  
Some spue, and some pisse, not one of them is still.  
Neuer be they still till middes of the night,  
And then some brawleth and for their beddes fight.<sup>1</sup>

If this was the position at court, in solid accommodation, then how much worse in tent and pavilion at Guines?

These temporary structures, might nevertheless, be very elaborate as our study of those of Francis I has shown, and as the Hampton Court painting indicates. The large cloth of gold tent behind the palace in this painting is the counterpart of contemporary drawings preserved in the British Museum, as for instance those in Cotton Augustus II, no. 28, 35, or 18 (that used by Anglo in his study of these festivities).<sup>2</sup> The plate in the present study, no. 76 in the same collection, is firmly annotated in a contemporary hand, and thus seems clearly made for use by the Sergeant of the Tents and his craftsmen. It may even have been one of the designs or 'platts' sent to the hard-pressed workmen in 1520, and was perhaps seen and approved by the King himself, for he took a great interest in such details.

Materials for tent and pavilion, as for those erected by the French, were sought far and wide. The English accounts mention many purchases, though the detail of use, whether for tents, costumes or caparisons, is not given. For instance, in April cloth of gold, velvet and other material was bought from (John) Cavalcanti to a value of £2,355 17s. 4d., and from one Barde (Bardi?) to a value of £1,497 12s. 2½d. 1050 yards of velvet were bought at 12s. 8d. a yard, and £700 worth of canvas and buckram. In May (Robert) Amadas was paid for mending and making 'gold stuff'; velvets costing £1,033 12s. 1d. were bought, sables for £442, and Pieter van Halft supplied 484 ells of Arras (tapestry hangings) for £971 os. 5d. These expensive items jostle in the accounts with smaller disbursements. They may be contrasted, for instance, with the £10 paid to Master Richard Pace for certain lectures in Greek to be read and taught within the university of Cambridge.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Barclay, *The eclogues, from the original edition . . .*, ed. Beatrice White, EETS, London 1928, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Anglo, loc. cit., p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), pp. 1540, 1541.



## *The Company Assembles*

The number and quality of those who journeyed to the field is a happy conundrum for statisticians and genealogists. From the provisional arrangements made in 1519 we know that it was intended that the King of England should be accompanied, in addition to his household and guard, by 100 nobles and gentlemen, and that at the first meeting with the King of France, 'the embracing of the two kings', he should be accompanied by 40 of these 100.<sup>1</sup> We may assume that parity in this was to be maintained on the French side, since outward show and prestige played a vital part in medieval diplomacy. In January 1520 it was agreed that the numbers for the meeting that year should be regulated by the lists drawn up in 1519. By March 1520 detailed lists had been compiled. The English King was to be accompanied by 114 nobles and gentlemen (counting the ecclesiastical peers): by the Legate, Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, 2 dukes, 1 marquis, 10 earls, 5 bishops, 20 barons, 4 knights of the Garter (i.e. members of the order not peers, and taking their rank from their membership), 70 knights; in addition there were to be 4 counsellors of the 'long robe', 12 chaplains, 12 sergeants at arms, 200 of the King's guard, 70 grooms of the chamber, 266 officers of the household and 205 grooms of the stable. The servants allowed to these, and the horses, brought the total King's retinue up to 3,997 persons, and 2,087 horses. A smaller Queen's retinue of 267 included 1 earl, 3 bishops, 4 barons, 1 duchess, 10 countesses, 12 baronesses, and with servants numbered 1,175 persons and 778 horses. The

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 592, 702, 704(2); *Archaeologia*, XXI, 186.

total English contingent would therefore be 5,172 persons and 2,865 horses.<sup>1</sup>

There were no important changes in these arrangements, but by the time of the meeting, the company had still further expanded: the number of knights grew, esquires were added, heralds and others not specifically mentioned in the March agreement. Lists of the names of those actually attending, with details of servants and horses, have survived on the English side; no doubt copies of the lists needed by harassed officials making lodging and other arrangements. They have survived in Elizabethan manuscript collections in Lambeth Palace Library and in the Bodleian Library, and in the papers of the Duke of Rutland. There are only minor discrepancies in the three lists, no doubt due to copying and perhaps to last minute changes in the original.<sup>2</sup> The Bodleian list, which is the most complete, is printed at Appendix A. There are, of course, some notable absences. For example, the Council which governed England in the absence of King and Cardinal included the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and the Abbot of Westminster. We know from the lists that the King was accompanied by Wolsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earls of Shrewsbury, Westmorland, Stafford, Kent, Northumberland, Essex, Wiltshire, Worcester, and Oxford, the Archbishop of Armagh (primate of Ireland), the Bishops of Durham, Ely, 'Chestre' (no doubt Chichester; Chester was not yet a bishopric), and Exeter. There were with him 21 barons (the Earl of Kildare appears among the barons), 3 Knights of the Garter, 4 counsellors spiritual (the Master of the Rolls, Master Secretary, the Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Master Almoner),

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, XIII, 705; LP, III (i), 702.

<sup>2</sup> The Lambeth list (Lambeth MS. 285) is printed in A. C. Ducarel, *Anglo-Norman antiquities considered in a tour through part of Normandy*, London 1767, pp. 51-61. The Bodleian List is in MS. Ashmole 1116, ff. 95<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>. The Rutland list is in *Rutland papers*, pp. 28-38. The Bodleian and Rutland lists are almost identical. The Lambeth list, which alone gives the figure for the minstrels and trumpets, omits some of the knights attendant on the Queen (Bodleian 33 names, Rutland 31, Lambeth 23). Its only major difference from the other two is that the compiler assumes in a final summary, that horses must be added for each of the nobles, bishops, knights etc. attendant on the King and Queen, whereas it is clear from the permitted schedule (LP, III (i), 702) that their allowance was included in the total number agreed for them and their servants. The Lambeth figure for horses is, therefore some 1100 greater than that which is obtained from the detail in the other two lists, and which already shows an increase of some 350 over the schedule.

87 knights, 14 esquires, 10 chaplains, the King's French secretary, the Master of the Posts, 2 clerks of the signet and 2 of the privy seal, 12 sergeants at arms, 18 heralds and pursuivants, 200 yeomen of the guard, 70 officers of the chamber, 266 of the household, 205 of the stable and armoury, together with 30 (using the Lambeth list) minstrels and trumpets (an increase of 81 to 964 persons). The Queen's retinue was the Earl of Derby, the Bishops of Rochester, Hereford and Llandaff, 4 barons, 33 knights, 6 chaplains, the Duchess of Buckingham, the Countesses of Stafford, Westmorland, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Derby and Oxford (perhaps both the Countess and the Dowager), 16 baronesses, 18 knights' wives, 25 gentlewomen, 3 chamberers, 50 yeomen, 50 officers of the chamber, and 60 of the stable. The total had risen by only 9 over the schedule.

These retinues had their own retinues of servants. Wolsey, first in state after the King, was more extravagantly attended than archbishop or duke: 12 chaplains, 50 gentlemen, 238 other servants, 150 horses. The archbishop and dukes were limited to 5 chaplains, 10 gentlemen and 55 servants each, and 50 horses. With these large numbers we reach totals, using the Bodleian List, of 5,832 persons and 3,217 horses (excluding the 2 ambassadors and their retinues), an increase of 660 persons and 352 horses over the schedule. Of course, there may have been last minute changes, and some of the permitted number of servants may not have been taken; but when we look at the magnitude of the whole retinue, and realize that the French would have been permitted as much, we appreciate that a very large concourse met together. The talk in 1519 of over 6,000 persons was not just a diplomatic gambit.

It is idle to pretend that an adequate commentary can be given here on the individuals thus assembled. All we can do is to single out some members of the vast concourse. Warham of Canterbury, venerable ecclesiastic, former Lord Chancellor, Chancellor of Oxford, patron of Erasmus and many other scholars, was by origin an Oxford lawyer with very wide experience in church and state. He played no very great part at the 1520 meeting; on the way there the King and Emperor were entertained by him at Canterbury, no doubt well, for Erasmus tells us that he entertained sumptuously, but ate frugally himself, and hardly ever tasted wine. He never hunted nor played dice and died very poor. The two Dukes have already been mentioned. Polydore Vergil states that Buckingham grudged the expense of the meeting: 'he did not

know what could be the cause of so great an expenditure of cash unless it was for the future spectacle of foolish speeches or for a conference of trivialities'. Shakespeare has him say that Wolsey privily made up the lists of gentry and that many

have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em  
For this great journey.

There is no evidence that in fact Buckingham found the expense impossible; he may be pictured as attending with all his customary splendour, as in 1513 before Théroutanne, when his gorgeous apparel claimed attention. 'He was in purple satten, his apparel and his barde full of antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and littell belles of gold marvelous costly and pleasaunt to behold.' The swan, the device of his Bohun ancestors gave him his popular nickname: one dramatist charges Wolsey with devouring the 'beautiful swan'. To Francis I he was a man full of choler whom nothing would content.<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that it was Suffolk, brother-in-law of the King and his companion in war and in pleasure, who would have had the advantage at the meeting. He was a Knight of the Garter, and in 1513 Master of the Horse, leader of the vanguard at Théroutanne and Tournai, and Duke of Suffolk in 1514. By 1520 (then aged about 40) he had regained the royal favour, withdrawn on his precipitate marriage to the widowed Mary Tudor, Queen of France. Suffolk's matrimonial entanglements are too complex to be clearly stated. He had previously married Anne Browne, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, by whom he had one daughter before, and one after the marriage. These daughters were sent to the court of the Regent of the Netherlands after Suffolk's marriage with the King's sister.<sup>2</sup>

These two leaders of the nobility may be contrasted with the 5th Earl of Northumberland, Henry Algernon Percy, whose reputation for ostentatious living had by the eighteenth century suggested the title of 'magnificent'. In 1503, for instance, he appeared to escort the Princess Margaret to Scotland. His coat was goldsmith's work with pearls and precious stones, his gown crimson satin, his boots black velvet, his stirrups gilt. 400 tall men, wearing his livery, accompanied the procession; the earl

<sup>1</sup> For Warham; DNB; for Buckingham: Polydore Vergil, p. 263; Hall, i, 75; Ellis, i, 177-8; cf. Lawrence Stone, *The crisis of the aristocracy 1558-1641*, Oxford 1965, p. 253. *Complete Peerage*, II, 390-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Peerage*, XII (i), 454-60.



displayed his horsemanship, making his mount take 'gambards' (leaps) for all to see. The earl was 'esteemed more a prince than a subject', as indeed he might with his great estates and string of fortresses in the northern border counties and in Yorkshire, and with distant holdings in Lincolnshire, Sussex (Petworth Castle), Kent and the south-west. His household, normally based on Wressel or Leconfield in Yorkshire (with annual residence at Topcliffe in the same county) and on occasion at the military fortresses of Alnwick or Warkworth further north, is known to us in some detail from the 'household book' of 1512. There was, in intention at least, the utmost precision and economy of management. With some 5,571 deer sheltered in his many parks, the Earl yet prescribed the exact number to be provided [by each] for consumption during the year; it was the same with the swans, allocated for sacrifice on the seven major feasts. The most expensive lamb, and birds such as capons, plovers, peacocks, pheasants, were only for consumption at the Earl's table; the capon were to be bought lean and fattened at home. Beer and bread, including 'bread' for the horses, were to be made at home, and herbs never bought, since the garden would provide them. There were yearly contracts for milk, eggs and sea fish, this latter, and any fresh water fish which had to be bought, to be purchased with economy. Great birds should only be bought when they came down to 4 a penny and the small when their price fell to 12 a penny. Prices were to be carefully checked; some poulterers had profited at the Earl's expense. There were precise rules for the duty hours of the servants and the number to sleep to a bed (2 priests, 2 clerks, 2 gentlemen of the chapel, 2 minstrels, or 3 children of the chapel). Even the surplices for the chapel are mentioned: they were to be laundered sixteen times a year (a modern-sounding provision). The gentlemen of the chapel were to take a weekly stint at the organ. The horses also were under regulations; their winter and summer feed was minutely specified (57 were on winter rations when the household book was compiled). The unfortunate cofferer of this establishment was told to make up his weekly accounts in his leisure hours on Sundays.

Such a household, and its lord, was magnificently represented in the 1513 campaign, as was the Earl's military strength. He was ordered to attend with 500 men, for even Tudor monarchs had need of their nobles' liveried retainers when it came to a fight. There were to be 100 demi-lances, 300 archers, and 100 billmen on



foot: the Earl found 380 from among his own tenants, the remainder from among his friends and adherents; naturally, on campaign, the expenses of the force were met by the Crown. For himself and his squires the Earl brought 23 horses of mettle, and a different harness for every day of the week, with yet another for any meeting with the King's friends. The Percy crescent and manacles were proudly displayed, as were some 60 ostrich feathers (on the retinue). No doubt the battle of the Spurs resounded with the Percy war cry, now 'Esperance en Dieu' (formerly 'Esperance ma comforte'). The Percy no doubt wished to serve his sovereign faithfully; an emblem in a Percy manuscript, which can be assigned to the years 1516-23, shows the Tudor rose with the sun in splendour, and in the midst the young Henry VIII. The rose emits fire and drops of liquid, which fall onto a scroll beneath, topped by the Percy crescent and an eye, and with verses beginning 'I receyve noo lighte but from thy bearmes bright'. Beneath all is the word 'Cor' an illusion to the heart of the Percy. The whole theme is Percy dependence on the Crown.

Yet the Percy was never in favour, and his great power perhaps seemed the more threatening in that the Duke of Buckingham (his exact contemporary) was his brother-in-law. The wardenries of the Marches, traditionally held by the Percies, eluded him. In 1511 the three wardenries were held by Lord Dacre of Gilsland (Cumberland), an overzealous supporter of the Crown, who took to lecturing the Percies on martial duty. He informed the Earl's brother that the King expected one raid a week (against the Scots) 'while the grass was on the ground'. No doubt his vanity was flattered by a request for a loan from the Earl, but it is unlikely that his purse suffered. For recent research has proved that, although the Earl was frequently short of ready cash (an endemic problem at the time), his revenues were in fact increasing, and loans were usually repaid within a short time. The year 1519-20, when loans were the heaviest, for instance one from the citizens of Beverley and one from those of York, saw most of them repaid. It was no doubt enmity from the monarch, exclusion from office, and harsh legal penalties (imprisonment in the Fleet after a wardship case) which embittered Percy's later years. However, when Buckingham fell in 1521, even Wolsey could find no suspicion against the Earl, and it may be therefore that the latter's journey to Guines in 1520 was not entirely ill-omened, and that here again the Percy desire to serve found some outlet. With ready cash

obligingly provided (£338 10s. 9d. loaned by William Bouttry a mercer), the Earl prepared his retinue and his own attire (there was payment of £80 10s. to a Florentine for 11½ yards of cloth of gold, an exorbitant price). The retinue, officially limited to 3 chaplains, 6 gentlemen, 33 servants, and 20 horses, no doubt travelled in its accustomed way: the Earl was preceded on a journey by 9 servants (including the yeoman of the cellar, marshall of the hall, officer of arms, carver, cupbearer and chaplain) and followed by 18 more (yeomen of the robes, of the horse, of the pantry, clerk of the signet and clerk of foreign expenses). As judge in the lists his attention was no doubt to be focussed on the armed combat (he was now 42 and took no part himself in the jousts). But he no doubt also enjoyed the company of scholars, poets and musicians. Leland commented on the good design of the Earl's study called 'paradise' in the tower of Wressel; he was a patron of learning, and perhaps knew William Cornish, one of whose compositions is included in the 'emblem' manuscript. At Guines and Ardres there was food for thought for one evidently aroused by the theme of Fortune's mutability, and whose houses at Leconfield and Wressel were enriched with proverbs. 'In the rooffe of the hyest chawmbre in the gardynge' at Leconfield, the theme was Hope, from the Percy motto. Two verses may be quoted:

Esperaunce in the worlde nay.  
The worlde variethe every day.

Esperaunce en dieu in hym is all  
For he is above fortunes fall.<sup>1</sup>

Among the bishops, we may notice Thomas Ruthall of Durham

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, IX, 719-20; G. Brenan, *History of the house of Percy*, London 1902, i, 136-71. *The regulations and establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the 5th Earl of Northumberland*, London 1770. E. Barrington de Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy from the Conquest to the opening of the nineteenth century*, London 1887 (vol. I, pp. 310-60); J. M. W. Bean, *The estates of the Percy family, 1416-1537*, Oxford 1958; A. G. Dickens 'A Tudor Percy emblem in Royal MS. 18 D ii' in *The Archaeological Journal*, cxii, 1955, pp. 95-9; M. E. James, *A Tudor magnate and the Tudor state. Henry fifth earl of Northumberland*, Borthwick papers No. 30, 1966. F. Grose and T. Astle, *The antiquarian repertory*, IV, London 1809, (for the printed text of the proverbs; the quotations here cited have been checked with the original BM. MS. Royal 18 D ii). The earl's case appears to be the first recorded use of Algernon as an English Christian name. Aux gernons, or als gernons (with whiskers or a moustache) was the nickname of the William Percy who served with William the Conqueror, the ancestor of the family in England (E. G. Withycombe, *The Oxford dictionary of English Christian names*, Oxford 1950, p. 14).

an able diplomat and administrator, Chancellor of Cambridge (1503), privy councillor, and Lord Privy Seal in 1516. He is mentioned by Polydore Vergil as Wolsey's creature, and the Venetian ambassador Giustinian reported that he 'sang treble to Wolsey's bass'. Much of the negotiation and preparation for the meeting would have been in his hands, and some of the lists we have been considering are in his handwriting. The saintly John Fisher of Rochester is in violent contrast. From Beverley he had come to Cambridge, where he rose to be Chancellor (for life) and President of Queen's. As chaplain and then confessor to the Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of King Henry VII, he was able to direct her benefactions to his own university. Her divinity readership (also established at Oxford) was followed by the endowment of the foundation which became Christ's College, and (posthumously) her great wealth was employed at the foundation of St. John's, whose statutes were drawn up by Fisher himself. The whole tenor of his life was a plea for the reform and revival of the church; he raised his voice against the greed and wealth of the clergy: they tossed to and fro, this way and that, so that nothing was done but attending triumphs, receiving ambassadors, haunting of princes' courts and such like, spending money which might be better employed in other ways. In 1520, he attended the meeting in the retinue of Queen Catherine, whose cause he was later devotedly to champion. The worldly delights of the occasion were grist to his mill; later in the year he was to use them as exempla in two sermons preached on Matthew, v. 20 (Unless your righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven). Turning from this text, he dwelt on the contrast between earthly and heavenly joys. There was eloquent pleading for a true sense of values: 'the joyes of this world be lyke mydsomer games and Chrystmas games and playes.' The sermons are a commentary, *sub specie eternitatis*, on the 1520 meeting; they also give occasional glimpses of the actual conditions. He retained a vivid recollection of the winds that blew down or shook 'the houses that were buylded for pleasure', and of the dust that filled clothes, hair and faces, and so encumbered men and horse 'that scantly one myghte se another' (see Appendix D).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ruthal; DNB; Polydore Vergil, p. 247; Rawdon Brown, i, 260; Fisher: E. E. Reynolds, *St. John Fisher*, London 1954; the two sermons were printed by William Rastell in 1532 'Here after ensueth two fruytful sermons, made

Among the barons, Thomas Docwra, Prior of the Knights of St. John (or Hospitallers) came from an old Westmorland family, now settled in Hertfordshire. He was much employed in diplomacy from at least 1506, and was summoned to the 1513 campaign with 300 men, serving there under the Earl of Shrewsbury. He had twice been on embassy to France before the 1520 meeting; he heard cases in Parliament, and in the Star Chamber. The Knights of the Garter who attended in 1520 included three veteran servants of the Crown. Rhys ap Thomas appears in some but not all lists of those present. A native of Carmarthenshire, lord of many lands in Wales, he had taken the field during the wars of Edward IV's reign; in 1485 he met Henry VII and gave valuable assistance at Bosworth, where he was knighted. By 1505 he was Knight of the Garter, and later Seneschal and Chancellor of Haverfordwest and Rhos. He was hailed by the Welsh bard Lewis Glyn Cothi as bringing peace to Wales. His family was related to that of the Tudors, and their alliance was seen as covering Wales in smiles, and making the English joyful at last, their fury failing. This alliance had been foretold in prophecy and in the stars; Britain was destined for the men of Gwyned (North Wales). Ap Thomas is called the golden knight, gracious nobleman, foremost in battle but last in taking the honours, a strong oak, there is 'no one in London with the same purity'. By 1520 he would have been over 70; as a boy he had visited the court of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (i.e. before 1467), and it is remarkable that one who had seen the festivities of that court and its Order of the Golden Fleece, should perhaps also have seen the splendours of 1520. It was his son Sir Griffith Rhys (or Rice) who was one of the knight 'scourers' on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Another distinguished Knight of the Garter was Sir Edward Poynings. He had thrown in his lot with Henry Tudor, had landed with him at Milford Haven, become his privy councillor and Knight of the Garter, Deputy of Calais, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Warden of the Cinque Ports. He became one of the

<sup>1</sup> Dowcra: DNB; Rhys ap Thomas: DNB; *Poetical works of Lewis Glyn Cothi*, Oxford 1837, i, 163-6.

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and compyled by the ryght Reverende father in god John Fyssher Doctor of Dyvynyte and Bysshop of Rochester'. One copy, the only in England, is in the Bodleian Library; there are three copies in the U.S.A. (Extracts are given in Appendix D.)



most trusted servants of Henry VIII, served in the 1513 campaign with 500 men, and was Lieutenant of Tournai while it remained in English hands. Among the knights, there was Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of the future queen, and until 1519 ambassador to France. His successor in embassy, Sir Richard Wingfield, will frequently be mentioned in these pages. Of a Suffolk family, he had studied at Cambridge and Ferrara, and at Gray's Inn. He was knighted in 1511, Deputy of Calais in 1513, and was sent on embassies to France and the Low Countries before succeeding Boleyn as resident ambassador in France. By his marriage with a daughter of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers (father-in-law of Edward IV) and Jacquetta of Luxembourg, widow of Duke John of Bedford (Henry V's brother), Wingfield was related to the royal family, as by the fact that his wife was widow of Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford and uncle of Henry VII. Wingfield's manor house at Kimbolton was his normal residence when in England; he enlarged and improved it. He died at Toledo on embassy to Spain after the battle of Pavia.<sup>1</sup> Finally, to complete a varied picture, we should mention Sir Henry Guildford (later Knight of the Garter). As a squire, he had fought in Lord Darcy's Spanish expedition of 1511, and had been knighted at Burgos by Ferdinand of Aragon. This led to a tradition that he had served in the reconquest of Granada many years earlier, a patent impossibility (he was born in 1489); it is true however that his arms bore a pomegranate, emblem of Granada, and it may have been that King Ferdinand granted him his privilege in 1511. Henry VIII knighted him the following year. He carried the royal standard at the siege of Thérouanne and was made knight banneret after the taking of Tournai. On this occasion, as Master of the Revels, he played in an interlude before the King. He became Master of the Horse in 1515, and in 1520 entertained the Emperor at Leeds castle in Kent, of which he was custodian for the Crown. His normal residence was at Benenden in the same county. In 1519, he was one of four 'sad and ancient knights' whom the council appointed to the King's chamber to replace the young Frenchified gallants who were then dismissed. Nevertheless, he appears to have taken an interest in the entertainments of the court. In 1511, he had designed a 'pageant' or moving stage for the Christmas revels, and in 1526 with Sir Thomas Wyatt he was responsible for the construction of a banqueting house at

<sup>1</sup> DNB; A. Anstis, *The register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, London 1724, i, 225-34.



Greenwich. He became controller of the household at some date before 1522.<sup>1</sup>

Among the officials we may notice Richard Pace, 'master secretary', hardworked and experienced diplomat. A graduate of Oxford and Padua, he had been secretary in Rome to Cardinal Bainbridge, England's 'protector' at the curia. On his return to England in 1515, he served Wolsey, and proceeded on an arduous mission to Switzerland, not so arduous, however, that he could not find time to write a Latin treatise on doctrine, in the public baths at Constance, far from books and learned society. In 1516 he became secretary, and in 1518 preached a 'good and sufficiently long oration' in Latin on peace, at the ceremony in St. Paul's where Anglo-French peace was ratified. It was printed and translated into French. He became Dean of St. Paul's in 1519, and went on a mission to Germany over the imperial election. In 1520 he was paid by the King to lecture on Greek in Cambridge, but there is no evidence that he did so. Rather, he continued his career as secretary, and at the 1520 meeting again preached on peace. Before the meeting he had negotiated with the Emperor's ambassadors, and was sent to the Emperor, whom he escorted to Gravelines, immediately afterwards. In 1521 he left on embassy to Venice, where he stayed for some time, and enjoyed high favour. In 1522 his Latin translation of part of Plutarch's *Moralia* appeared from a Venetian press, and a second edition was needed before the year was out. In 1523 he was received on board the *Bucentaur*, the state barge, on the Ascension Day procession in which the Doge's wedding to the Adriatic was enacted. It was a mark of favour which he had also enjoyed many years before. Failing mental and physical health was responsible for his eventual retirement from office. Already in 1525 the Doge had recommended his recall, on grounds of health. It seems probable that he had fallen under Wolsey's displeasure, but this, although it may have aggravated his symptoms, may not have caused them. Earlier traditions that Wolsey imprisoned him, and that the Cardinal's antagonism drove him out of his mind, now appear to be without foundation. In 1520, however, all this story was yet to come, and there is no evidence that Master Secretary was not in high favour and repute. Polydore Vergil's praise, although perhaps that of a personal friend, may not have been unmerited 'his manners were most polished, he was well educated, musical and witty, and greatly delighted the king,

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, i, 235-47; DNB; LP, III (ii), p. 1558.

who willingly listened to his advice even in matters of the gravest importance'.<sup>1</sup>

For the great officials, and members of the household, chamber, stable, and armoury, attendance at the meeting was part of their normal duty. Direct orders as to clothes and accoutrements were given. The officials of the household were warned to 'prepare themselves in their best manner apparelled, according to their estates and degrees', the apparel being an essential requisite of office. The Tudor livery of white and green would have been much in evidence. Barclay wrote, perhaps maligning the royal servants,

They have no labour yet are they wel besene  
Barded and garded in pleasaunt white and grene.

For the King's Guard, special provisions were made. This body-guard was instituted, apparently on the model of the French king's, by Henry VII, who established 50 archers, the yeomen of the guard. Henry VIII formed a guard of 50 'spears' each with three attendants, an archer, a demilance and a custrell (an attendant on a knight: literally, one armed with a coustille or custile, a two-edged dagger), and three great horses. The height of the royal guard was famous; as tall as giants, wrote one observer; and no doubt in imitation, Wolsey had the kingdom scoured for tall and comely yeomen for his service. In 1520 the royal guard was to be 200, half mounted, and selected from the 'tallest and most elect persons'. They were to be provided with doublets, hose and capes, and with two coats, one in goldsmith's work (with the King's cognizance), the base red, the nether parts to have a band of cloth of gold, the other like a riding coat, of red, with the royal rose on the breast and the crown imperial. The guard were to have bows, sheaves of arrows, and halberds; provision of these and of their mounts was committed to Sir Harry Marney, K.G., Captain of the Guard. We know that gilded halberds and javelins were provided by Sir William Skevington, Master of the Armoury. The King himself had no doubt a strong hand in all these arrangements: the 'memoriall' mentions that he was to devise his own apparel and that of his henchmen, his coursers, palfreys and hobbies, and all matters relating to the 'furniture' (equipment) of the stables.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> DNB; J. Wegg, *Richard Pace. A Tudor diplomatist*, London 1932; Rawdon Brown, ii, 142; Polydore Vergil, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 178-9, 183. For the bodyguard: Polydore Verjil, p. 7; Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), *The history of the reigne of Henry VII...*, London 1676, p. 7; Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, *The history of England under Henry*

The apparel and accoutrements of the many noblemen and gentlemen who came not by virtue of their office, but of their rank and importance, was left to them to determine, and to their charge. However, there was to be no straying from the accepted hierarchy. In the orders given in 1519 when the meeting was to have been mainly at Calais, it was laid down that no man should wear prince's apparel, in order that the King's estate might be above all as to his pre-eminence and royal dignity. Because of this, and to avoid all superfluous expense, all nobles were to come apparelled as belonged to their degree, a duke like a duke, a marquis in his degree, an earl after like pre-eminence, a baron like a baron, a knight as a knight, squires like squires, yeomen, grooms and pages ordering themselves accordingly. It may be assumed that similar provisions applied at Guines. A draft warrant survives commanding the attendance of — with — 'able and semely persons well and conveniently apparelled and horsed'; the recipient himself was to appear as was fitting to his degree and honour. An actual warrant commanding Sir Adrian Fortescue to attend the Queen, instructed him to put himself in readiness with 'the number of ten tall personages well and conveniently apparelled for this purpose' to pass with him over the sea. Fortescue was to be apparelled 'as to your degree the honour of us and this our reame [realm] it apperteineth.'<sup>1</sup>

We know from arrangements made in 1519, that the gentlemen of these retinues were to wear silk, the yeomen coats of cloth. The whole business was costly in the extreme. It was part of that excess in retinue and frenzied search for amusement which contemporary moralists were quick to condemn. According to Thomas Starkey, a third of the population of England lived in idleness, particularly the nobles, prelates, and their retinues of servants. The nobles, brought up to do nothing but eat, drink, hunt, hawk, dice, and play cards, maintained courts like princes. The great idle rout of serving men did nothing but bring dishes to table, and eat them afterwards, and then give themselves to hunting, hawking, dicing, and carding as though they had been born to nothing else. It was part of this idle rout which would follow the great ones of the land to Guines in 1520. There is probably little exaggeration in

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 191; *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 78-9; LP, III (i), 705, 706, 718.

VIII, London 1870 (reprint of 1719 ed.), p. 117; Hall, i, 14. For Wolsey's servants: George Cavendish, *The life and death of Cardinal Wolsey*, ed. by Richard S. Sylvester, EETS, London 1959, p. 18 (hereafter referred to as Cavendish).

Du Bellay's remark that many at the meeting wore their mills, their forests and meadows on their shoulders; or in that of Shakespeare's Lord Abergavenny:

I do know  
Kinsmen of mine, three at the least, that have  
By this so sickened their estates, that never  
They shall abound as formerly.

As Edward Hall says, those who were summoned put themselves in readiness 'after the moste costliest fashion'.<sup>1</sup>

The arrangements for transporting and housing so vast a multitude were minutely specified. The royal officials (harbingers) who went ahead of the King to earmark lodgings, were to go to Dover having been given a 'book' with the names of those expected. One official was to arrange for victuals and 'horsemeat' (fodder for the horses). For the crossing itself hoyes (small ships) and ships were to be provided: the ships such as the Cinque Ports might assign, the Warden, Sir Edward Poynings having charge; the hoyes, 40 great hoyes, to be provided by Miles Gerard and Thomas Partridge, who were also to appoint shipping for the nobles and others in attendance, again according to the 'book' of names. To safeguard the crossing certain ships in addition were to be rigged, victualled, and manned to 'waste and scouwre the sees from tyme to tyme.' They were to be the *Mary Rose* (600 tons, crew 350), the King's *Great Bark* (400 tons, and crew possibly 220), the *Less Bark* (given as 240 or 160 tons, crew possibly 160) and two other small ships. Rigging and victualling were entrusted to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Sir Wistan (or Weston) Browne, and and John Hopton (see below).

The *Mary Rose*, one of the King's larger ships, may well have directed the operation of scouring the seas. It is clear, however, from the financial accounts that the royal crossing took place in the *Great Bark*, the *Lesser Bark*, the *Katherine Pleasaunce* and the *Mary and John*, with two of the King's row barges, the *Swepestake* and the *Swallow*. In 1519 the new ship, the *Katherine Pleasaunce* (probably of 1,000 tons, but this is not certainly known) had been prepared for the King's crossing to France (then projected for that year). At one time 89 carpenters worked on her, their diet included

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 186-7; Du Bellay, i, 102; Hall, i, 181; Thomas Starkey, 'A dialogue between cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset', in *England in the reign of Henry VIII*. ed. J. M. Cowper, EETS, London 1871, pp. 77, 129.



butter, oatmeal porridge, herring, and beef; they worked for wages from  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $8d.$  a day, and slept in some discomfort (some lodged nearby with goodwife Bingley, sleeping three to a bed). John Hopton, Clerk Controller of the King's ships since at least 1514, and a naval officer of much experience, was in charge of such undertakings. He was a man of consequence and sailed his own galley, *John Hopton's*, by 1522 and perhaps earlier. In 1520 he supervised the 'cutting the docks to bring out the King's ships'. There was much extra work to be done on board. John Wolfe painted and gilded the 'coller' (the rope round the main mast to prevent its shrouds – ropes from the head of the mast to relieve it of strain – from galling) of the *Katherine Pleasaunce*, royal cabins and chambers were provided, wainscotted, glazed, decorated with the royal arms, and for the Queen, provided with joined stools. The *Mary and John* (200–260 tons, crew 150) also sailed from Deptford, and the two row barges, *Swepestake* and *Swallow*, probably of 80 tons, and with crews of 60. Beer and provisions for the workmen came from the 'Rammes' in 'Petty Wales', London. At the same time, there were other preparations, for the crossing was a large one. For instance, the *Christopher of Hyde*, no doubt one of the Cinque Ports' contingent, carried over the King's jewels.

Such are the facts. The painting at Hampton Court tells another story (Plate V). From Dover (the castle is on the left, and the coast of France on the right) sail five great ships; one in the foreground is still the scene of embarkation. Beyond the right tower a ship with King Henry aboard is already under way. It has the royal standard on each of the four angles of the forecastle, with the fleur-de-lis in gold on each standard staff. Banners of St George fly from each angle of the poop. Two trumpeters on the break of the poop and two on the break of the forecastle sound out for the King, who is surrounded by courtiers and yeomen of the guard. From other evidence (a painting and a drawing) it seems clear that this ship is the *Henry grâce à Dieu* (1,500 tons, with a crew of about 900) which was launched from Erith in 1514, and was the largest royal ship. It had a long life; in 1522 it was reported as sailing as well or rather better than any other ship in the fleet, and it was still afloat in 1540, when it was rebuilt. We know that the *Henry* did not sail in the 1520 crossing; indeed a historian of the navy has described the painting as follows: 'it does not present the vessels which actually conveyed Henry, but rather those which would have conveyed him, had the harbours where the King embarked and dis-



embarked been deep enough to admit them'. It seems clear that, if this painting does represent the 1520 crossing, then the artists (for like its companion piece, Plate V, the work is by several hands) used great licence. The *Henry grâce à Dieu* is conspicuously absent from the written evidence, and most telling of all, from the accounts of expenditure on the 1520 voyage.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, commissioners and harbingers were to be appointed to arrange lodgings at Calais and Guines. They also were to have books of names, and were in turn to make 'substantial' books to be sent to the King and Council, who would then direct 'billets' to be made out to every personage, in which 'certain knowledge may be given unto them where they and every one of them should be lodged'. At Calais the commissioners were the Deputy Sir John Pechie, the Marshal (the Earl of Essex), Sir Richard Carew, Wotton, (Sir Christopher) Garnishe. We do not know how well they fared. Stow records that in 1532 Calais could furnish 2,400 beds and stabling for 2,000 horse. At Guines, the commissioners were Vaux, Sands, and Belknap, whose work on tents and palace has already been discussed. As might be expected, there were complicated arrangements for security. To maintain good order among the King's train, punish malefactors, and allow victuallers to come and go freely, there were appointed a Chief Marshal (the Earl of Essex), and Under Marshal (Sir William Parr,) and a Provost (James Marland). The Chief Marshal was to have under him thirty paid keepers of the market. The countryside around would be continually searched; a French and an English commissioner, for the sure custody of passage, good gate and watch, were to appoint 'scowrs and spies', to 'discover vales, woods, towns, villages, castles, passages and other suspect places' where there might be ambushes, towards France, Flanders, Artois and Picardy. Sir Griffith Rhys was English commissioner, supported by Sir Richard Tempest and Sir William Bulmer. They were to have 100 light horse (Rhys 60, the others 20 each). They were to report to the King's Council morning and evening. In addition, the council

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 180; LP, III (i), 704, 1009; III (ii), pp. 1539-41. For Hopton: LP, I (i), 1393, 1453; I (ii), 1661, 2574; II (i), 1463 (viii); II (ii), 1466, 4606; III (i), 704. For the Katherine Pleasaunce: LP, III (i), 558. For tonnage of ships: LP, I (i), 2686; IV (i), 1714 (i). For the *Henry grâce à Dieu*: LP, II (ii), 1480 and p. 1465; III (ii), 2302; IV (ii), 6138 (i) and (ii). For the painting see Millar, *op. cit.*, i, 54-5 (No. 24); W. L. Clowes, *The royal navy. A history from the earliest times to the present*, London 1897, i, 405-20. (cf. *supra* p. 36, note 1.)

were to appoint spies and counter-spies 'towards all parties and countries' so that the certainty of the dispositions of every country might be known. In fact the English regularly maintained 'spies' in France. The Deputy of Calais was expected to organize the 'service'; in 1519 the King's spy in France was getting 14 crowns a month, and there were further payments to a priest who carried letters. There was also a spy at Tournehem (near Calais). They would come to Calais with news and to be paid; Sir John Pechie in 1520 had £104 for 'spyall money'; in reporting he promised to gather news every 12 or 14 days; the spies were out again to do the best they could. No doubt business was brisk in the days just before the meeting.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the English court's crossing and stay in France was to be safeguarded by movement of ordnance. It was to be moved to Calais for the 'garnishing' of the town and castle of Guines, and also for the fortifying of the 'field' where the feat of arms was to take place. Sir William Skevington, Master of the Ordnance was to be in charge. On May 21st, when French movements of ordnance to Ardres were reported, it was recommended that the King should send over the ordnance lying on Tower Wharf and elsewhere. We shall see that the French were making like preparations.<sup>2</sup>

Amidst all this general activity, we may watch the great Cardinal taking thought for himself. His meticulous and detailed instructions have survived, and show how difficult he was to serve. With his own hand, he wrote concerning his lodgings at Canterbury (where he would like Master Coleman's house) and at Sandwich, where the Emperor landed. Wolsey knew Calais well; he had lived there when chaplain to its treasurer, and had seen it again in the 1513 campaign. Now, he wrote to Sir John Pechie the Deputy about his lodgings. He wished them to be good and convenient, and would like Master Baynar's house. If provisions were available there, and as cheaply, it was no use sending them over. If, however, flour were dearer, it could be packed in barrels in England. Could wine and water be had there? He required mutton, veal, capons, chickens, green (young) geese, young herons, bitterns, breams, quails, storks, and other dainties. There must be fuel for the kitchen. He had written to Belknap at Guines to remember principally that his tents and halls must stand in a dry and convenient place, without moistness of swamp, and be as near the

<sup>1</sup> Stow, p. 945; LP, III (i), 265, 293, 390, 769, 1074.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 181-2; LP, III (i), 825.

King's lodging as possible. Dainties should be sought in Flanders and Picardy. The lodging was to be made sure 'so that I be not dispoynnted at my cominge'. His servants must find out how other noblement have got their provisions, and ask for help from the King's officers. Sending £20, Wolsey promised more if needed.<sup>1</sup> In fact Pechie was beset with worries. He had ordered victuals and horses for the King's coming, but had been destitute of both for many years past; there had been a murrain, and the royal officials (the King's 'takers') had obtained provisions from Calais. The butchers of the town had not beef and mutton enough for an ordinary royal retinue for more than three weeks, and there was only fuel for one week.<sup>2</sup>

Despite all this, the royal crossing at last took place. There were last minute scares. The rumours of a French fleet gathering in neighbouring harbours flared up again; 12 or 14 French ships were said to lie in wait. Henry would not cross until he had Francis's assurance that this was untrue. In addition, Pechie had sent alarming reports of French troop movements. On May 17th, he wrote that 15,000 or 16,000 men were being moved towards Ardres, their spears bearing the royal colours, black, white, and tawny. There were stories of French concealment of gunpowder in wine vessels. Pechie dutifully declared that he had sent spies to discover the truth. In fact the long awaited crossing was made on May 31st. the court staying at Calais until June 5th, and then moving to Guines. There had been much transporting of baggage: for instance, several loads of the Queen's wardrobe, and the King's wardrobe of beds, with 8 carts, and 52 loads of his wardrobe. A domestic detail is a payment for 'washing the Queen's stuffe one night at Dover.'<sup>3</sup>

On the other side of the channel Francis and his court had been moving in leisurely stages from the Loire. Francis left Blois, where he had been hunting, on April 18th, and on the same day the ladies set out for Paris. They arrived there on May 5th and the king himself on May 17th. Thence the court proceeded to Abbeville, where they were expected on Ascension Eve, and where they intended to wait until the Cardinal came to Dover. At this stage the French would proceed to Montreuil. Francis arrived

<sup>1</sup> BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII ff. 236r-236v (calendared in LP, III (i), 851).

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 747.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, III (i), 819, 825, 836, 843, 852, 919; *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 28.

there on May 24th, and spent his time hunting in the forest of Crécy. He would be at Ardres, he declared, on the appointed day (May 31st at latest), but he did not wish to go until the Cardinal reached Calais.<sup>1</sup> On May 30th King and court moved to Marquise, Francis leaving the ladies there and proceeding to Ardres on May 31st, the appointed day. Having negotiated with Wolsey (as will be seen later), the King returned to Marquise for the weekend, but was back in Ardres on June 4th, where the Queen followed on June 5th.<sup>2</sup>

It is very unfortunate that we have not full details of the French contingent. Instead of long and detailed lists, as for the English, we have only the company which should accompany Francis at the first meeting with Henry, when, as has been stated, each side was to number 40 of the total of 100 nobles and gentlemen allowed by the schedules agreed in 1519. The French list, furthermore, does not include the prelates, some of whom we know went to this first meeting, and had been unrevised since 1519 for it includes as Grand Master De Bois, who died that year. Nevertheless, using the list, and contemporary sources, we arrive at a fair proportion of those attending: it is fairly safe to assume that no one of the first importance would have failed to secure mention in one source or another. The 'list' gives: the King of Navarre, the Dukes of Bourbon, Vendôme, and Lorraine, the Counts of S. Pol, the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon (later Duke of Montpensier), the Prince of Orange, the Admiral of France (Bonnivet), the three Marshals (Chatillon, la Palisse, and Lescun), the Grand Master (the Bastard of Savoy), the Counts of Dreux and Rethel, Guise, Laval, Harcourt, and other notables up to a total of 33 (see Appendix B). In addition, some of the French prelates were present although all of them may not have attended the 'first meeting' of the Kings. There is mention of the four French cardinals, De Bois (papal legate), Bourbon, d'Albret, and Lorraine; the Archbishop of Sens, primate of France, the Bishops of Paris, and according to one source those of Verdun, Lisieux, Angoulême, Glandève, Macon, Castre, Vaure, and Auxerre. Altogether there were presumably enough of the eminent to balance the English, for in 1519 Wingfield had written to the King 'as to the number that shall come with your Grace to the meeting, that is composed

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 748, 752, 797, 808; Jean Barrillon, *Journal*, publ. par Pierre de Vaissière, SHF, Paris 1899, ii, 166.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, ii, 167-8; Montfaucon, IV, 165-8; LP, III (i), 870.



in a roll, whereof they (the French) have the copy; they think it very good, and will order the king's numbers here according to the same'. We know that the French contingent was to include other Knights of the Order of St. Michael, not named in the schedule which survives. This royal order, founded by Louis XI and equal in prestige to the Order of the Garter and the Burgundian (now imperial) order of the Golden Fleece, was the most coveted honour which the King could bestow.

Besides these notables, there would be present at the meeting a great concourse of officials, forming a large retinue. This included household officials, '*les gens de conseil et de finance*', a company of gentlemen and a company of the '*gentlemen pensioners*.' The latter formed part of the cavalry in war, and at court were distinguished by their falcon-beaked wands of office. A complement of the royal guard, 400 archers of the guard, under four captains, and 100 of the Swiss guard under their captain, M. de Florange, completed the retinue. A total of 3,000 in the King's retinue (excluding the Queen's) was mentioned during negotiations, and would have accorded with the same basic figure of King Henry's suite, and the total of more than 6,000 in all.<sup>1</sup>

The French had agreed that their notables should be apparelled as suited their estate (a parallel to the English arrangements). Francis I however insisted that the nobles of the blood (Alençon, Bourbon, St. Pol, de la Roche) should wear what they pleased, as should the three marshals, and divers others, and also the ladies. A veritable contest ensued over the feminine contingent. Wingfield wrote home that the French King was searching for the fairest in the land to bring with him. The ambassador hoped that Queen Catherine would bring 'such in her band that the visage of England, which hath always had the prize' be not lost. Francis had sent the ladies on ahead from Blois, and proposed to select those for the interview when he got to Abbeville. He promised Wingfield that he would not exceed the stated number, but yet he hoped that Henry would not be offended if all who were suitable should come? The non-plussed ambassador evidently extricated himself by assuring the French King that 'I never saw your highness [King Henry] encumbered or find default with over press of ladies': a masterly comment on Henry VIII. It was supposedly Francis I who first summoned to court considerable numbers of

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, XIII, 713; LP, II (i), 702(4).



ladies of birth and distinction. Writing later in the century, Brantôme records the tradition that the King thought a court without ladies was like a garden without flowers; they made the men as valiant as did their swords. In fact a court without ladies was no court.<sup>1</sup>

Of the many who attended on the French side, the leader was the Chancellor Antoine Duprat, from Issoire in the Auvergne, of a merchant and land-owning family which had risen in the world. His father, a merchant of Issoire, had married into the Bohier family, able financiers, and the Chancellor's cousin was already building the château at Chenonceaux which became the residence of Diane de Poitiers, and then Catherine de Medici. Duprat, able lawyer, with experience first in the Parlement of Toulouse and then in that of Paris (of which he was First President in 1508) became Chancellor in 1515. He had already become an ecclesiastic on the death of his wife in 1507; he became Bishop of Meaux, and finally Archbishop of Sens (1525) and Cardinal (1527). In 1515 he had accompanied Francis I to Italy, and been present at the ferocious fighting at Marignano, thereafter becoming Chancellor of Milan and haranguing the Milanese on the virtues of French rule. He negotiated the controversial concordat with the Pope at Bologna in 1516, and defended this agreement before the harsh criticism it received in Paris. In 1520, already 57, and perhaps tiring of the subtleties of diplomacy, in which he was never very adept, he no doubt found Wolsey more than a match for him. His biographer characterizes Duprat as rough, harsh, competent, and tenacious, but '*nous le verrons parfois désarmé devant le sang-froid et la vigueur retorse du redoutable Wolsey*'. In 1521 at Calais, when Wolsey had blandished him with a speech on the theme that, both being chancellors, there should be eternal friendship between them, Duprat found the Cardinals' duplicity (he was deceiving the French throughout these negotiations) too much for him. He wrote to Francis I that Wolsey changed his moods, and it was hard and painful to follow what he wanted: the French were 'lowering their sails' (*nous calons voile*) until the Cardinal commanded. Duprat deplored the bad wine at Calais; he was a gourmand, and this is perhaps the only thing he had in common with England's Chancellor. He took little part in diplomacy after 1521, but was chief

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, i, 144 (No. 52); BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 182; LP, III (i), 698, 718, 806; *Oeuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille seigneur de Brantôme*, pub. par L. Lalanne, SHF, Paris 1867, iii, 127-30.

counsellor to the King, and to Louise of Savoy, in the period of the King's captivity after Pavia. The 'Bourgeois de Paris' describes him as 'fort redouté pour son savoir et grand sù naturel et acquis'. He divided his life between residence in Paris at his Hotel d'Hercule (so called from the sculptures on the walls), his official lodgings at Fontainebleau and S. Germain-en-Laye, and his château of Nantouillet near Meaux, which he rebuilt and decorated with Italian motifs.<sup>1</sup>

Much more concerned with, and experienced in, Anglo-French relations was the Admiral of France, Guillaume Gouffier, Seigneur de Bonnivet, et de Crèvecoeur, Knight of the Order of St Michael. Like his eldest brother, Artus, the Grand Master, Guillaume had been brought up at court. He joined the household of the young Francis of Angoulême when the latter was 10 and Guillaume 15, and is said to have been the best loved of the future King's companions. His eldest brother was governor and first chamberlain of the young prince at this time. Both brothers went on the Italian expedition of 1515, and Marguerite of Angoulême, the King's sister, later described, in her *Heptaméron*, the young Bonnivet in Italy: handsome, skilled in arms and in (deceitful) lovemaking (no. 14). He is also supposed to be represented in another story (no. 4) of the bold and importunate suitor of a young widow of high birth (assumed to be Marguerite herself). The young man is tall, handsome and graceful, the widow joyful, the best company in the world, yet good and wise. The lover, in his most beautiful and best scented night attire and night cap, surprises the widow in her bed, to which he has gained access through a trap door from his room below. He is repulsed, and finds his handsome face scratched and bruised. He cannot reappear before the lady and her brother, who are his guests. The lady is advised to take no further revenge; but ever afterwards the young man, bravest of all, cannot appear before her without blushing. If the tale is correctly interpreted, then the brother, lover of the chase, of all pastimes, and of the ladies, is Francis I, and his wife, gloomy (*ombrageuse*) and no sharer of her husband's diversions, is Queen Claude.

Bonnivet's more serious activities included an embassy to England in 1518 when the Anglo-French marriage treaty was concluded. By this time he was Admiral of France (1517). In 1519 he

<sup>1</sup> A. Buisson, *Le chancelier Antoine Duprat*, Paris 1935; Terrasse, op. cit., i, 194 et seq.

led a great embassy to Germany to canvas the hopes of Francis's election to the empire. The full embassy, perhaps 800 horse, stayed near Coblenz, but Bonnavet, disguised as 'Captain Jacob', and carrying the luggage of a German gentleman, went on to Frankfurt to meet the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg. He recounts that he was behind the arras in the lodging of the Margrave in Maint, when Pace, the English ambassador was canvassing for a German candidate and not the French King, as Bonnavet had hoped. The Admiral's high favour with Francis I is shown in 1520, when at the first meeting of the Kings, he alone on the French side, and Wolsey on the English, entered the tent for colloquy of the two Kings. He was ambitious and in 1520 had begun work on the château of Bonnavet, a large building with round towers, three storeys, and high roofs. Rabelais compared it with Chambord or Chantilly (the Montmorency château), and the Duke of Bourbon, whose own fortress of Chatellerault was nearby, commented that the cage was too big for the bird. Certainly the Gouffier family had done very well: a third brother, Adrien also mounted the ladder of preferment. He was Archbishop of Albi by 1519, a cardinal in 1515, and papal legate to France in 1519-20. He also held the court office of Grand Aumônier (Grand Almoner).<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of Bourbon has already been mentioned. His colleague among the French was Charles Duke of Alençon (Normandy) husband of the King's sister Marguerite. His descent from Charles of Valois, son of Philip the Fair, made him of the blood royal; he was the first of the lay peers of France, and as such, gave the King his spurs at the coronation (a privilege formerly held by the Valois Dukes of Burgundy, in their time first of the peers). Alençon was in fact heir to the throne until Francis had a son; the King made him Lieutenant-General in Armagnac, and Governor of Normandy and Brittany. In 1518 the conseil étroit or inner council met at the Duke's lodging; he was always close to the King in affairs of state and of war. It was war which mainly concerned him: a veteran of the Italian campaigns, he had been with Louis XII at Agnadello, with Francis at Marignano, and was to fight at Pavia in 1525, in which year he died. He had led the royal forces against the Emperor in 1521. There is little reason to suppose that this military preoccupation made him a suitable husband for the

<sup>1</sup> Terrasse, i, 195; Anselme, VII, 880; Barillon, ii, 143; LP, III (i), 530. For Artus Gouffier: Anselme, VIII, 384; for Adrien Gouffier: Anselme, VIII, 252, V, 604.

Princess Marguerite. The grim fortress of Alençon, on the Aarthe and Briante, or the castle of Argentan on the Orne, both hidden in the thickly forested Norman countryside, were in contrast with her early days at Cognac, Angoulême or Amboise; and there is no evidence that the Duke was interested in the learning or cultural diversions of the court. It is to be noted that Marguerite's second husband, Henri II d'Albret, King of Navarre, was also at the 1520 meeting. His kingdom was then confined to lower Navarre, north of the pass of Roncevaux, and with its capital at S. Jean-Pied-de-Port, for the Spaniards had seized upper Navarre, across the mountains, in the succession disputes of 1512. Henri II therefore ruled lower Navarre, Béarn, with its capital of Pau, Bigorre, with its capital of Tarbes, and Foix. It was a goodly heritage; but the hope of reconquest of the whole was never fulfilled. Marriage with the young king brought Marguerite from the north to the sun and snow of the Pyrenees. She held court, meditated and wrote at Pau, or further north at Nérac; sometimes she must have visited Cauterets, for the Heptaméron begins there, and we read that the mountain resort was already famous for its mineral waters, its water baths, and its mud baths 'things so marvellous that invalids given up by the doctors returned quite healed.'<sup>1</sup>

The three Marshals of France were present at the meeting. Gaspard de Coligny, Seigneur de Coligny, Andelet et Chatillon sur Loing, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, was a close favourite of the King. He had served in Italy for many campaigns; with Charles VII at Fornova in 1495, at Agnadello and Marignano. He took over Tournai from the English in 1518, during which transaction he encountered the Earl of Worcester his opposite number in the arrangements for the 1520 meeting, and also Belknap and Vaux, again present in 1520. On the later occasion he put up a strong fight for the French preferences, particularly over the siting of the meeting place, and the field for the jousts. His wife, Louise de Montmorency, was the sister of Anne de Montmorency, the future Constable, who was also at the meeting. It was his son Gaspard II, Admiral of France, who perished in the St. Bartholomew massacre of 1572, and who built the sumptuous residence at

<sup>1</sup> Alençon: Anselme, I, 276-7; Barrillon, i, 9-10, 116, 165, 326; ii, 184, 254; Gilles Bry sieur de la Clergerie, *Histoire des pays et comté du Perche et duché d'Alençon*, Paris 1620. Henri II of Navarre: P. Boissonade, *Histoire de la réunion de la Castille et la Navarre*, Paris 1893; P. Jourda, *Marguerite d'Angoulême duchesse d'Alençon et reine de Navarre*, Paris 1930.



Chatillon (Burgundy) now known as Chatillon-Coligny, on the site of a castle of the counts of Champagne.

Jacques de Chabannes, Seigneur de la Palisse et de Pacy, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, was another veteran of the Italian wars from the 1495 campaign onwards. He became Governor of Milan after the battle of Ravenna (1512) and chief of the French army in Italy. In the northern campaign of 1513, he was taken prisoner at the Battle of the Spurs. He again went to Italy in the 1515 campaign. His military talents have been doubted: 'de faible capacité militaire', writes the greatest expert on the wars. In 1524, by supreme irony, he was to resist the former Constable's invasion of France; as Governor of Provence he effectively opposed Bourbon's army. His residence at La Palisse, between Moulins and Roanne in Bourbonnais, had been the family château for many years. His grandfather is known for his adherence to Joan of Arc. La Palisse died after Pavia, where he was taken prisoner; he was shot, with an arquebus, by one of his guards, in a dispute over his custody. His death became the subject of a soldier's song

Monsieur de la Palisse est mort,  
Mort devant Pavie.  
Hélas! S'il n'était pas mort  
Il ferait encore envie.

The last line was corrupted to 'Il serait encore en vie' and hence came the expression 'La palissade' or 'verité de M. Palisse' for a self-evident truth.

The third Marshal was Thomas de Foix, Seigneur de Lescun, who by 1520 had replaced in the office Odet, Vicomte de Lautrec, his brother, and by then the King's commander in Italy. Lescun had been on the 1515 campaign, though not present at Marignano. At the battle of La Bicoque (Bicocca) in 1522, where his brother commanded, he was wounded in the face, and had his horse killed under him. He died, shot by an arquebus, at Pavia.<sup>1</sup>

Another member of the French retinue was Louis II, Seigneur de la Trémouille, Viscount of Thouars, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, of a great Burgundian family already famous in the thirteenth century, and now with lands in western France, at Thouars, south of the Loire near Saumur, and Talmont,

<sup>1</sup> Chatillon: Anselme, VII, 143; Barrillon, i, 69; ii, 114. Palisse: Anselme, VII, 129-30; F. Lot, *Recherches sur les effectifs des armées françaises des guerres d'Italie aux guerres de religion*, Paris 1962, p. 37. Lescun: Anselme, III, 373, 379; VII, 163; Barrillon, ii, 163-4, 190.



near Olonne in the modern Vendée. The young Louis, with green eyes and wavy golden hair, had early amused himself in the art of war: he and his three brothers would play at sieges in the castle garden at Bommiers where they grew up. The young hero, whose eulogistic biography was written by a contemporary Jean Bouchet, one of his household, was known as the 'chevalier sans reproche'. He was a page at the court of Louis XI; he went to Italy with Charles VIII, and according to his biographer, was responsible for getting the French artillery over the Alps. He worked at this with his own hands, so that he became black as a Moor; the King is said to have congratulated him, praising an achievement of which neither Hannibal nor Caesar could boast. Louis commanded victoriously for Louis XII in Italy at Novara, and was at the battle of Agnadello. At Marignano in 1515 Louis and his son Charles were both present. Charles received sixty-two wounds, according to Bouchet, and died thirty-six hours after the battle. The sad news preceded the funeral procession home. Within eight days his mother, staying at a château near Poitiers, was told of the catastrophe, an event which is held to have caused her own death. She was Gabrielle de Bourbon, aunt of the Constable, a virtuous and learned lady, who wrote devotional treatises. Louis her husband held many high offices at home: Admiral of Guyenne and Brittany, Governor of his ancestral province of Burgundy. His titles included that of Count of Guines, for the English occupation of that territory was not acknowledged. In 1520 Louis (now married to the young Duchess of Valentinois, daughter of Cesare Borgia) and his grandson the Prince of Talmont were both at the meeting with the English. Louis's fighting career continued; he withstood Bourbon's siege of Marseilles in 1524 and in 1525 was shot down at Pavia by a hackbut, a small firearm, which, Bouchet remarks, should never be used by one Christian against another. The grandson was taken prisoner but survived. Louis II was buried in his church of Notre Dame de Thouars, beside his first wife Gabrielle, and his son Charles. One epitaph stated that he had not wished to die at home in idleness, nor behind the hidden rock of cowardice. It seems that his title 'chevalier sans reproche' was well earned.<sup>1</sup>

The Master of the Horse (Grand Écuyer) in 1520 was that

<sup>1</sup> Anselme, VII, 880; IV, 167; Barrillon, i, 69; 'Le panegyric du seigneur Loys de la Trimouille dit le chevalier sans reproche par Jean Bouchet', in J. A. C. Buchon, *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France*, Paris 1839, IX.

colourful figure of the Renaissance, Galeazzo San Severino, whom Castiglione describes as full of courtly grace, having improved his natural gifts by study with the best masters, as a bee chooses the flowers among the grass. He excelled in all exercises of the body (wrestling, vaulting, handling weapons, riding, and jousting). His father Count Roberto had been in the service of Francesco Sforza of Milan, and Galeazzo, his second son, shared Lodovico Il Moro's rise to power. He became his commander in chief, and lived in great style, being given the former Medici bank as his Milan residence, and the town of Castelnovo, which his father had held. He married Lodovico's natural daughter Bianca, who was betrothed to him at the age of 8, and who died shortly after her marriage, some years later, while still a minor. Galeazzo kept a stable full of horses and became known as the best jousting and horseman in Italy if not Europe. There was a splendid tournament at the wedding of Lodovico and Beatrice d'Este (1491), at which Galeazzo led a band of 'wild men' wearing costumes designed by Leonardo. Galeazzo rose to such heights, that one contemporary termed him the real Duke of Milan, who had everything he asked or wished for and could do what he liked. Charles VIII asked for him to be sent to France in 1493 to advise on military matters. Lodovico refused, but the next year sent him as ambassador to discuss the Neapolitan expedition. In the campaign of Louis XII, Galeazzo led the Milanese forces, disastrously as it turned out, for he was not a great general. He shared Lodovico's exile at the imperial court, returned with him to regain power in 1500, and when the bid failed, and Lodovico went prisoner to France, Galeazzo again fled to the empire. He did not long remain there, however, but entered the service of Louis XII, who in 1505 made him Master of the Horse. He fought at the battle of the Spurs, and in 1514 was present at the great festivities for the marriage of Mary Tudor and King Louis. San Severino's costume of cloth of gold, lined with sables, was especially remarked: the material had been sent 'express' from Italy, and made up overnight. His excellence in horsemanship no doubt singled him out for high favour with Francis I. At the 1520 meeting, he gave special displays before the assembled courts. Like many of his French colleagues, he was to die at Pavia in 1525.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. Collison-Morley, *The story of the Sforzas*, London 1933, pp. 148, 158-9, 210-11, 256, 296, 300; C. Ady, *Milan under the Sforza*, London 1907, pp. 139-224, 232; SPV, II, 211.

No account of the meeting would be complete without mentioning the Seigneur de Florange (near Thionville in the Vosges). Robert III de la Marck came of a great family of the Ardennes, descended, so many thought, from the Romans, and taking their name from their governorship of the march of Ancona. More certainly they were descended from the Counts of Altemberg. Robert's father, Robert II, was Duke of Bouillon, the great fortress on the Semois (seat of Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade) and Seigneur de Sedan, with its castle on the Meuse, both territories then just north of the French border and in imperial territory. A great uncle of Robert III had been known as the wild boar of the Ardennes. The family was often torn between duty to the empire and the attractions of an alliance with France; Robert III followed the example of his maternal ancestors, the Croys, in choosing to serve France. At the age of 8 or 9, he tells us, when he could ride a small horse, and was filled with tales and stories of adventurous knights, he obtained his father's permission to travel to the court of Louis XII, then the most renowned monarch in Christendom. The King placed him in the household of Francis of Angoulême, the same age and height (he was actually some 3 years younger). It was at Amboise that a friendship began between the two boys which was to last for the rest of their lives. Robert III served in Italy in 1509, 1510, and 1512; at Novara his father led 7,500 lansquenets, and the son, and his younger brother, fought with him, under the generalship of Louis de La Trémouille. In the Swiss attack Robert III fought valiantly, and received forty-six wounds. His father found him among the dead and rescued him. In 1514 we find him jousting at the marriage of Mary Tudor and Louis XII, with him Francis of Angoulême, La Palisse, San Severino, and the Duke of Suffolk. In the 1515 campaign, when he was 24, he led a company of 200, 100 of his own band and 100 of his father's. The 'black band' of lansquenets (numbering about 6,000) whose musters his father had held, took part in the campaign, with some 17,000 more. It was Robert III who fought at the head of the lansquenet army at Marignano, being knighted by the King on the field of battle. This was the famous encounter at which the French remained twenty-eight hours on the alert, including the night hours, and at which the King asked for water in vain, for the streams ran with blood. After this victory Robert was made Captain of the Swiss guard. In 1519 he attended on Bonnivet on his embassy to

Germany, no doubt because of his knowledge of that country and language. He remarked the splendid hospitality given to the embassy by the Archbishop Electors of Trier and Cologne, as when the ambassadors sailed down the Rhine to Bonn in the sumptuous barges of the Elector of Trier. Florange advised that Francis I should retain the services of the Swabian league, neglected counsel which he felt cost the King his chance of election as Emperor. At this time Robert II was on the imperial side, and advising the same policy for Charles of Castille (with success). When Robert II defied the Emperor and appealed to the King of France in 1521, the Franco-imperial struggle had begun. The family lands were seized by the imperialists, and only Sedan and Jammetz remained to them. Robert III, who took part in the fighting was at this time made Knight of the Order of St. Michael. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia; after the battle he was allowed to visit King Francis, and tells of the meeting at which the two played billiards (billes, or billard de terre, played on the ground, like croquet), against Bourbon and the Duke of Guelders, surely one of the most ironic games in history. Robert was made Marshall of France, with a pension of 10,000 livres, and granted the chatellenies of Château Thierry and Chatillon sur Marne. It is to his imprisonment after Pavia (in the north, at Écluse or Sluys) that we owe his memoirs. They are enlightening if only because they have simplicity and are straightforward annals of the life of a great soldier, without undue bias or artifice.<sup>1</sup> He was nicknamed the young adventurer, a title which might well have applied to the French nobles of his generation. Even a brief survey of their activities focusses on their long chase after adventure and glory in Italy. Perhaps this was to them the central theme, as it may have been to their king. Certainly the 1520 meeting was but an interlude in the Italian dreams which cost them so dear.

Among the ecclesiastics, Jean de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine was already in 1520 high in favour and influence with the French King. A younger brother of Duke Antoine of Lorraine, he had been destined for the church from infancy; at three he was co-adjutor of the bishopric of Metz, to which he succeeded in 1505 when 7, although not assuming the functions of bishop until 1518

<sup>1</sup> Anselme, VI, 164-6; *Mémoires du maréchal de Florange dit le jeune aventuroux*, pub. par Robert Goubaux et P. A. Lemoisne, SHF, Paris 1913; Lot, op. cit., pp. 37-44.



when he was 20. He had the coadjutorship of Toul from 1505, and in 1517 obtained the bishopric; in 1518 he was made a cardinal and papal legate in the duchies of Bar and Lorraine and in the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Thereafter he was always in possession of several bishoprics, also an archbishopric, and abbot of several abbies. At one time or another, the archbishoprics of Narbonne, Reims, and Lyon were his, as were the bishoprics already mentioned, and those of Die and Valence, Thérouanne, Verdun, Albi, Agen, Nantes, and the great abbeys of Fécamp, Cluny, and Marmoutier among others. He had been brought up at the French court, and spent most of his life in France, exercising most of his ecclesiastical functions through deputies. He was close in the royal counsels, ate at the King's table when at court, and maintained a life of splendour in his many residences, not least the Hôtel de Clisson in Paris, and the Hôtel de Cluny, traditional residence of the Abbots of Cluny, and still to be seen in its brave flamboyance of gothic and classical styles. He would join in all the revels of the court; for instance, in 1522, he is reported as masquerading every night with the King and his minions. At the meeting of King Henry and King Francis in 1532, the Cardinal played 'paume' (an early form of tennis) against Henry VIII, losing £48 13s. 4d. to the King, as also another sum at dice against the same player. He was often on embassy to the Emperor, for Lorraine traditionally attempted a role of neutrality between the two warring rulers, and in 1542 his brother the Duke declared Lorraine's independence and sovereignty. The Cardinal, a most lavish patron, was at one time Maecenas to the humanist Lazare de Baïf (who translated Plutarch for the King), to Erasmus (who dedicated to him his Latin translation of Chrysostom on St. Paul to the Galatians), to Clément Marot, to Benvenuto Cellini and to Pietro Aretino. Many were the poor children educated at his expense, and very lavish his almsgiving to beggars and all who approached him. One, in Rome, receiving a fistful of gold, is said to have exclaimed 'Either you are Christ or the Cardinal of Lorraine', so widely had his reputation travelled. He became a stout opponent of reform, though not so execrated among Protestants as the Cardinal Duprat. Of his own frailties we know little, but Erasmus seems to hint at them, for he praises the Cardinal's study of the gospels, yet adds that one who has them at heart cannot for long be touched by the vices of the time. It is, however, wrong to base any special argument on the presentation



to the Cardinal by Baïf of a copy of the contemporary poem of Girolamo Fracastoro, 'Syphilis, sive morbus gallicus'. The poem was very famous, of considerable literary merit, and the problem an urgent one at this time. Jean de Guise may be compared, in his pluralism, his magnificence and his secular way of life, with the great Cardinal of York. Yet one thing widely divided Wolsey and Guise: Lorraine claimed to be a prince of the blood royal, for he was descended from the house of Anjou, which ruled the duchy in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Among the officials in the entourage, Florimond de Robertet, Treasurer of France, took a high place. He has been termed almost a minister, and certainly his influence was great. Born at Montbrison, he served first the Duke of Bourbon, and then entered the service of Charles VIII as secretary, following his master on his Italian expedition. He became Secretary of Finances and then, in 1501, Treasurer. He assisted the able Cardinal of Amboise, and then, on the accession of Francis I, was one of those on whom Louise of Savoy heavily relied. Marot terms him 'serviteur sans reproche'; he became Seigneur de Bury, where he had his country residence. At Blois he lived at the 'Hotel dit d'Alluye'. It was he who negotiated with Wolsey over the details of the treaty of 1520, visiting the Cardinal at Guines.<sup>2</sup>

As has been stated, we may assume that the total numbers on the French side approached those of the English. What it would have involved in preparation, transportation, food and lodgings is unfortunately less well known than on the English side. Cellini, who had some experience of the court of Francis I at a slightly later date, wrote of the wearisome trouble and fatigue in following the court 'the train of the king drags itself along with never less than 12,000 horse behind it: this calculation is the very lowest: for when the court is complete in times of peace, there are some 18,000, which makes 12,000 less than the average'. The man responsible for all the arrangements in 1520 was Marshal Chatillon, opposite number of the Earl of Worcester. He had left the court for Ardres in the middle of March, and with the Earl he selected the place for the meeting of the Kings, and the field for the feat of arms. A master of the household also went north to arrange the

<sup>1</sup> A. Collignon, *Le mécénat du cardinal Jean de Lorraine 1498-1550*, Paris, Nancy, 1910. For the report on the masquerade, see LP, III (ii), 2205.

<sup>2</sup> Barrillon, i, 76; Terrasse, i, 227; E. Dacier, *Florimond Robertet* (thesis, École des Chartes, 1898).

lodgings, and another to arrange for victuals. It was decided to establish a 'staple' for wine, meat, and 'horsemeat' (food for the horses) at Marquise, some 20 km south-west of Ardres.<sup>1</sup>

In sombre comment on the arrangements for the meeting was the movement of troops and arms. English suspicions have already been noted. In fact, we know that considerable armaments and troops had been moved up to this area, though it is fair to say that the preparations were probably mainly against an anticipated imperial attack. From the accounts of the making of tents and pavilions, we know that the Master of Artillery had ordered the taking of inventories of arms, and their movement. In July 1519, 300 draught horses had been hired in Champagne to move 12 canons (serpentes), 10 culverins (bastards), 10 medium culverins, and 2,000 hackbutts to the towns of S. Quentin, Péronne and Amiens. In other words, the Somme area was being fortified to be held as in time of war. Then, in May and June 1520, 400 horses were used in the movement of arms from Amiens: 2,000 'halcetz' (halecret; a corselet of beaten iron in two pieces), 2,000 'ecrevisses' (another type of corselet, with pieces of iron one over the other like shells), 4,000 pikes, 1,000 halberds, 1,000 hackbutts and other munitions. The stores were sent by river to Abbeville and then by land to Ardres, for its fortification. An inventory of munitions and arms in Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné had been taken in March and April that year, and the previous November and December the supplies in the castle of Nantes were checked and put under guard. This all sounds like preparation for war, in which was included the fortification of Ardres itself. Furthermore, as we have noticed, the tents and pavilions of France, which glowed with gold and colour for the royal meeting, were quickly stripped of their embellishments and sent to His Majesty's wars.<sup>2</sup>

The French took additional security measures for the safety of the meeting. It had been agreed that troops beyond the stipulated number, and unauthorized persons, should not be allowed at the meeting. Francis I issued a proclamation from Montreuil that none should follow his train nearer than 2 leagues, except those authorized, on pain of hanging. Vagabonds were to avoid the place as soon as the proclamation was published (at all accustomed points); merchants, suppliers of food and tradesmen could only

<sup>1</sup> Cellini, p. 306; BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 33<sup>r</sup>; BM. MS. Add. 4620 f. 309; LP, III (i), 689, 722, 746.

<sup>2</sup> BN. MS. Français 10383, f. xxiii<sup>v</sup>, xxviii<sup>v</sup>-xxx<sup>v</sup>, clxxi<sup>r</sup>.

come upon obtaining a ticket from a provost of the household, and no one else was to come without a ticket. It was said that more than 10,000 persons were sent away. Finally, armed troops were strictly controlled. No men at arms were to come within 2 days' journey of the place of meeting, save the garrisons of Boulogne and Calais.<sup>1</sup> What exactly was the strength of these garrisons is hard to say. In 1500, the Venetian ambassador had reported that the English always kept 800 men at Calais [this was the peace-time establishment in the fifteenth century], including horse and foot 'I do not believe that the castle of St. Peter at Rhodes is more strongly guarded against the Turks than Calais is against the French'. The muster roll of 1533 numbers 360 men. In 1557 another Venetian recorded that the English kept 500 of the best soldiers and 50 horse there. Whatever the force left there in 1520, it is clear that both sides had military strength within reach, and that eternal vigilance was their watchword. Francis I directed that all his retinue were to pay respect to the English and their retinues. One can presume that similar provisions were in force on the English side.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 841, 869; Rymer, XIII, 705-9; Hall, i, 186-7; BN. MS. Français, 5761, f. 33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *A relation or rather a true account of the island of England . . . about the year 1500*, trans. C. A. Sneyd (Camden Society), London 1847, p. 45; H. Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English history*, second series, London 1827, ii, 226. (Cf. Herbert, p. 117: a force of about 300 sent in 1509). *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 136-7.

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## *Wolsey Negotiates: The Kings Meet*

The dominant role in the early days of the meeting, the working days, was Wolsey's. He was nearing the height of his power and ambition. In 1518, Thomas More (then new to the Council) told the Venetian ambassador that negotiations were concluded 'most solely' by Wolsey, and that the King himself hardly knew in what state matters were. In 1519 the ambassador, Giustinian, reported that the Cardinal was behind the attempts at general peace, his sole purpose being to procure 'insense' (praise) for the King and himself; one could not please him better than by styling him the arbiter of the affairs of Christendom. This ambition was indulged by the negotiations of 1520 with the Emperor and the King of France, and by the conferences at Calais and Bruges in 1521, which Wolsey controlled and protracted. His international status was fed by his power at home. He already used the phrase 'The King's Grace and I' which was latinized and remembered as 'Ego et Rex meus', and while correct latinity excuses the reversal, everyone knew that the Cardinal cherished illusions of supreme pre-eminence. Ambassador Giustinian wrote that, in the matter of reporting news, 'were it a question of neglecting His Majesty or the right reverend lordship the least injurious course would be to pass over the former'. Wolsey would tell Giustinian not to heed words spoken on a sudden and inadvisedly by the King, and would prevent papers getting to him, if he chose, as Giustinian well

knew, for it was the Cardinal who 'led the dance'. The dance was an expensive one for those who wished to follow it. Holinshed writes of the French King's realization that Wolsey must be flattered 'as one tickled by vain glorie'; in fact Wolsey received a substantial pension from Francis I (£2,800 of Tours, plus £12,000 of Tours in compensation for the loss of the Bishopric of Tournai after 1518). In this, however he was not alone, for since the days of Louis XI the French monarchy had attempted to retain adherence among those at court, and in the period under discussion, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and several others were receiving pensions. The point remains however that Francis I apparently realized that Wolsey was particularly vulnerable, a fact also recognized by some of his more critical compatriots as, for instance Skelton, who shortly after 1520 wrote of the French who shot at the Cardinal with crowns:

Oute of theyr stronge townes  
They shote at him with crownes.

This vulnerability was also noted by the imperial ambassador who wrote of the need to win him with solid offers (the Bishopric of Bajados, and a pension on another see, were discussed); the Emperor Charles was said to know him as one 'to be taken by preferment as a fish by a worm'. The Doge of Venice (Leonardo Loredano) acknowledged that the Cardinal was deservedly to be considered the King's second self, but the Venetians knew well that such a fish could only be caught by a golden hook. Their golden hook proved to be carpets; before he left in 1519 Giustinian had promised sixty Damascene carpets from Cairo. In 1520 the Cardinal was anxiously inquiring about delivery, and when they arrived made fulsome thanks, promising to be the Signory's man in all things, and to send them all important news. The Signory was compelled to foot the bill; there was a suggestion to raise money by selling presents received by Giustinian and another ambassador (Venetian ambassadors had to hand over any gifts received on mission, even those on termination of an appointment). Eventually, the necessity of paying out 370 ducats was accepted, by a majority of twenty-six votes to one.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rawdon Brown, i, 186, 240, 319; ii, 114, 216, 258. Raphaell Holinshed, *The last volume of the chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* . . ., London 1577, p. 848; Polydore Vergil, pp. 247, 267-9; LP, III (i), 709, 728, 866, 880, 892; SPV, III, 101, 130; Skelton, ii, 32. For the expression 'the King's Grace and I' see BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 124<sup>r</sup>; SPV, III, 225. For the



Wolsey's cordial relations with Emperor, King, and Signory were apparently not balanced by any close accord with the Pope, who might have expected frequent news from his legate. Since 1492 England normally had a cardinal protector at the curia, who acted as intermediary with the Pope and promoted English affairs. From 1509, first as Archbishop of York and then as Cardinal, Christopher Bainbridge had filled this office, the first Englishman to do so; after his death in 1514, English interests were watched over by Silvestro de Gigli, Bishop of Worcester. In fact, however, there seems to have been little collaboration.<sup>1</sup> In 1516 there were complaints by the Pope of no news from England. Wolsey, excusing his royal master and thereby himself, replied through the Bishop of Worcester. The text of the letter, preserved in an eighteenth-century collection, is a masterpiece of verbose contempt. The Pope should recall that the King of England dwelt in the furthest part of the world, should recall also how great was the distance between the King and the city of Rome, and through how many countries, friendly and hostile, letters had to be carried. The English had been accustomed to write all the most trivial trifles and tales; letters from England depended on news from Rome, and unless it was known what was going on there, and what was in the mind of the Holy Father, there was practically nothing for Wolsey to write about. There were great difficulties of places, roads, seasons, enemies, and ambushes in many places, and therefore it seemed unreasonable that the Holy Father should wish to measure the King's love and goodwill towards him by the rarity or frequency of letters. The King thought it sufficient if he ensured that the Pope should not be offended by him in his life, and if he indicated to him what seemed expedient both for him and for Christendom. Nevertheless, since it was clear that the Holy Father required letters, in order to satisfy him (for Wolsey wished to do his bidding with

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge and the court of Rome, 1509-1514*, Oxford 1965, pp. 1-14.

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French pensions, payments from November 1514 to May 1521 are recorded in Archives Nationales, Paris (K. 89); there are transcripts in PRO, Transcript 8, 137. For Wolsey's carpets see Rawdon Brown, ii, 198, 241, 315; SPV, III, 1, 13, 107, 110, 117, 133, 177; LP, III (i), 794. Already in 1518 the Venetian colony in London had presented seven similar carpets (Rawdon Brown, ii, 241). No doubt they were for Hampton Court. The 1520 consignment arrived on October 23rd (inventory of the Cardinal's household stuffe, BM. MS. Harleian 599, f. 61v).

his blood) a representative was appointed who would give the Pope daily news of England. It seems that the traffic in news flowed fairly often the other way; Henry VIII had boasted to Giustinian that he knew well how things went in Italy, and had complained that the ambassador only gave him stale news.<sup>1</sup> However, the Pope's position does not seem to have improved. In March 1520 he complained that he had not been told of the proposed Anglo-French meeting, to which he wished to send a nuncio. In April he stated that he had received only one letter from England since the previous August, when the Legate Campeggio left; it was customary for princes to write to him once a month, even when there was nothing important to relate. Evidently Wolsey managed to write by the end of May, but in August the old complaint recurs. Probably the Cardinal gave scant attention to the matter. In March 1520 the imperial ambassador had reported that Wolsey would persuade the Pope over to the imperial side; the Cardinal had evidently remarked that the 'blind man' (the Pope) needed guidance. Such phrases, even when told at second-hand, scarcely accord with any deep concern for papal dignity or approval. In fact, Giustinian had noted the general lack of respect for the Apostolic See which he found in England. He wrote that, unfortunately, it was a long story, and that he would report on it in full when he left.<sup>2</sup>

This subject raises the general question of Wolsey's own ambitions. It used to be assumed that he himself wished for the papal tiara, but recent research has suggested that in fact he showed a 'detached attitude towards the court of Rome', was pressed by the King as candidate, but himself preferred his supreme position in England, which he did not wish to sacrifice. There was an impression in Rome during the 1521-2 election (when Wolsey secured a fair number of votes) that he would never leave England; he seemed a reluctant candidate in 1523, and even in 1529, when election might have saved his position over the royal divorce, he may have wished for it only as an expedient, and a costly one. In 1520, as papal legate, and arbiter between England and France, he no doubt savoured to the full his supreme authority, sufficient without the tiara. He had already taken many steps to

<sup>1</sup> E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum . . . amplissima collectio*, Paris 1724, III, 1270; LP, III (i), 558; Rawdon Brown, ii, 177, 196, 205.

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 651, 680, 720, 945.

advance his position and prestige, and would swear, so Giustinian says, on the 'honour of the cardinalate'. It is indicative of his wealth that he did not even bother to collect his revenues from the cardinalate.<sup>1</sup>

Set against this background, we may consider Wolsey's actions at Guines and Ardres. It is certain that he wished to make the 'field' a personal triumph. A French ambassador returned from England convinced that the Cardinal wished to be the sole arranger of the meeting, and to have the honour of it; the imperial ambassador thought Wolsey alone was in favour of it, the nobility and people of England being against it (perhaps wishful thinking on his part). Polydore Vergil, usually hostile, thought that the Cardinal projected the meeting 'for he judged what was fitting according to his own will, and thought it most splendid for him if among the French and in the company of nobles, all was seen to turn on his own vanity . . .' he 'longed like a peacock to display his many-coloured tail, that is, to exhibit his special appearance, in the land of France'. The blunt Englishman Edward Hall writes with pride that 'of the noblenes of this Cardinall the Frenchemen made bokes, shewyng the triumphant doynge of the Cardinales royaltie'. These 'books' were presumably the two narratives printed in Paris in 1520 and sold publicly (see above, page X). It could not be said that they were in praise of the Cardinal, and in fact this gloss on their contents is unusual in a chronicler normally hostile to Wolsey.<sup>2</sup> What exactly were these 'triumphant doings'; what did Wolsey attempt and what achieve? As so often in the history of diplomacy, secret and private negotiations are sparsely recorded; all that remains is the bald text of a treaty. Even the outlines of the story are but meagrely described.

Francis I had arrived at Ardres and Henry VIII at Calais on May 31st, the final date for the meeting, when Henry should have been at Guines. The English King pleaded that he and his queen were fatigued and unwell after the sea voyage, and extracted from Francis a respite of their further progress. They must, the French King insisted, be at Guines by June 4th, the latest day scheduled for the actual meeting of the two monarchs. Meanwhile, Henry sent Wolsey on solemn embassy to the French King.

<sup>1</sup> D. S. Chambers, 'Cardinal Wolsey and the papal tiara', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXVIII, No. 9. Rawdon Brown, i, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Barrillon, ii, 163; LP, III (i), 728 (p. 254); Polydore Vergil, pp. 263, 267; Hall, i, 194; Bourgeois de Paris, p. 73.

The Cardinal set out on Friday June 1st. He arrived in Ardres in his accustomed splendour, travelling with a large retinue. There were fifty gentlemen of his household, in crimson velvet, with gold chains on their necks, bare-headed, bonnet in hand, and with lances at their sides. Fifty gentlemen ushers were also in crimson velvet, bearing gold maces. The Cardinal's cross-bearer, also in crimson, bore the double cross, with a crucifix upon it set with precious stones. A second cross was also carried, but only to the limits of the royal domains. It seems clear that the first cross (the double cross, like the cross of Lorraine) was Wolsey's legate cross. The second, his archiepiscopal cross, would not have been carried into French territory. Wolsey himself, in a robe of crimson figured velvet, and a red hat with tassels, rode a mule, splendidly caparisoned in gold and red. A second mule was led before him, and he was attended by four lackeys. There followed him five or six bishops (which of the eight we are not told) and the Prior of the Order of St. John (Thomas Docwra). The retinue was completed by a detachment of the royal archers; one account mentions one hundred leading the procession, in red velvet doublets and crimson capes, and fifty in the rear, their bows bent, in red cloth jackets embroidered with a golden rose back and front. It is stated that the guard did not enter Ardres, but waited at the gate.<sup>1</sup>

This procession is but one instance of Wolsey's pomp, which earned him so much criticism. Polydore Vergil had noted the two crosses (for his sins, said Vergil) carried by 'two elegantly proportioned priests riding on great horses, who solemnly advanced bareheaded at all times of year'. There was also the Cardinal's hat, borne in procession to church and placed on the altar; there were the two silver pillars carried before him and the two gilt poleaxes. Finally, there was the Cardinal's mule (a beast supposedly ridden by ecclesiastics out of humility) trapped in gold, an embellishment so well known that the Swiss presented costly trappings in this very year. The criticisms of this pomp and circumstance rumble through the literature of the period. Skelton wrote of 'such pollaxis and pyllars, such mulys trapte with gold'. In 1523, Sir Thomas More (then Speaker) asked Parliament to receive the Cardinal, crosses, poleaxes, pillars and all. In 1528, a violently Protestant satiric poem burst from the comparative security of Strasbourg. The authors, two English friars, declare

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 57, 73; Hall, i, 194-5; LP, III (i), 869 (pp. 303-4, 308).



The bosses of his mulis brydles  
Myght by [buy] Christ and his disciples  
As farre as I coulde ever rede.

They give the Cardinal a damning coat of arms. The supporters are two angels of Satan; the arms are six bloody axes on a bare field (to symbolize his cruelty in causing Buckingham's death) and six bulls' heads on a black field (to symbolize his 'steady furiousness' in 'putting back the godly light'). The real arms, devised by Garter and Clarencieux recalled the Cardinal's native Suffolk (the sable shield and cross engrailed of the Ufford Earls, the azure leopards' faces of the De La Poles), the purple lion of Leo X, the rose of Lancaster, and the choughs reputed to be the arms of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Wolsey's patron saint. The dragon supporters held aloft pillars like those borne before the Cardinal in procession.<sup>1</sup>

Such was Wolsey's accustomed state. One may conjecture that his mission to the French King at Ardres was an occasion when, if possible, he excelled his normal grandeur. The company was met by the Admiral of France and Marshal Lescun, by Marshal Chatillon and the Seigneur de la Trémouille, with fifty of the French royal archers. Some small distance from Ardres it was joined by the Duke of Alençon, brother-in-law of the King, by the Duke of Bourbon (the Constable), and the Duke of Vendôme, all of the blood royal. These nobles escorted the Cardinal to the gate of Ardres, where King Francis awaited him, riding a mule. The two embraced without dismounting, and rode to the King's lodging, the Cardinal being requested to cover his head, but refusing and riding hat in hand. Wolsey presumably did not dismount on meeting the King because he was both papal legate and personal representative of his King. He behaved in the same way on meeting the Emperor in 1521, when he raised his hat, and embraced the Emperor, both still mounted. In 1520 King and Cardinal rode through the street together, through crowds of nobles and archers. Artillery were fired, and on arriving at the royal lodging both dismounted and embraced.<sup>2</sup>

Wolsey had long consultations with the King. One source

<sup>1</sup> Polydore Vergil, p. 255; Skelton, ii, 25; SPV, III, 130; Cavendish, p. 20; *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore knyghte written by William Roper Esquire* . . . ed. by E. V. Hitchcock, EETS, London 1935, p. 17; William Roy and (?) William Barlow, *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, Strassburg 1528.

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 58, 80; LP, III (i), 870 (p. 309); Montfaucon, IV, 165-6.



states that these meetings were attended only by the Chancellor (Antoine Duprat), the Admiral, the Treasurer, the Bishop of Paris, and by two Englishmen who came with Wolsey. The Cardinal may have remained overnight, as Hall implies. Another account asserts the contrary, stating that the Cardinal thought of some matter during the night, and returned to Ardres on the second day (June 2nd), where he stayed for about seven hours. The discussions certainly dealt with the meeting of the Kings, its time, place and the numbers to attend. June 7th was the day selected, and the place, just within the lordship of Guines, was chosen. Hall states that Wolsey had authority to act for King Henry as if the King himself were present (the fullest type of authority given to ambassadors), and that Francis gave him similar powers, which he accepted after reference to his master. If so, Wolsey was fully authorized to act both for Henry, with the French, and for Francis, with the English.

It is possible that Wolsey also raised with Francis the issue of the Emperor's attendance at the meeting, and that he dared to offer his mediation in the Franco-imperial dispute. This is reported by the Mantuan and Venetian ambassadors, and would be in character with Wolsey's ambitious projects, but we have no other information.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, there was much coming and going between Ardres and Calais and Guines. The Admiral, the Archbishop of Sens and others visited Henry VIII at Calais on the days Wolsey visited Francis I. The Earl of Shrewsbury, Steward of the Household, received them. On June 5th Henry VIII, his Queen, and retinue, rode to Guines to take up their lodging there, and on the 6th the Archbishop of Sens, the Admiral, the Seigneur de la Trémouille and the Treasurer (Robertet) visited the King at Guines. The French lords were received with a great noise of artillery and music; the English entertained and feasted them in their tents, almost tearing their clothes to force them to participate; in more sober mood the Admiral and the Treasurer concluded a treaty with the Cardinal. This treaty, the only agreement to come out of the meeting, was ratified by the two Kings, Henry at Guines on the 6th and 13th June, and Francis at Ardres. It betrays French eagerness to buy the English alliance, or rather its continuance, for on both the French and imperial side there was fear of the weight which such an alliance might give to either.

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 870 (p. 309); SPV, III, 62, 73, 87; Barrillon, ii, 167-9; Hall, i, 194-5.

The imperial ambassador had written that Francis might cajole the English with his drinkable gold, 'aurum potabile'.<sup>1</sup> But the gold was not so much drinkable as hard cash.

What was this agreement? It falls into place in the series of Anglo-French treaties beginning with that of 1475, when Louis XI had bought off Edward IV (at the head of a huge invasion force) with a lump sum of 75,000 gold crowns, to be followed by annual payments of 50,000 crowns during the lives of the two monarchs.<sup>2</sup> In 1492, at Étapes, Henry VII was similarly countered by Charles VIII. He agreed to pay the arrears of Louis XI's 'pension', plus the debt (620,000 crowns) owed by Anne of Brittany to Henry VII for his aid in her struggle with France, the conqueror having taken over this debt when he acquired Brittany by war and marriage. The whole debt, 745,000 crowns, was to be paid off at the rate of 50,000 francs a year, an agreement confirmed by Louis XII. Payments continued until Henry VIII made war on France as part of the 'Holy League' against her. The peace settlement after this war (1514), in the form of a league for the lives of Henry VIII and Louis, and for one year thereafter, acknowledged a total French indebtedness of 1,000,000 crowns (the total being reached by adding to the existing debt a debt of Louis's father Charles Duke of Orleans). The annual payments were now stepped up to 100,000 francs (1 franc to 20 sous tournois) in bi-annual instalments. A further provision was the marriage alliance of Louis XII and Mary sister of the King, the princess being offered with a dowry of 400,000 crowns. Francis I confirmed the debt of 1,000,000 crowns in May 1515. In 1518, the league of perpetual friendship between France and England included the marriage alliance of the Dauphin and Mary infant daughter of Henry VIII, with a dowry of 333,000 crowns. There was also an agreement for the restitution of Tournai, seized by the English in 1513, with payment of 600,000 crowns compensation (reputed to be in recompense for the castle built there by the English) at the rate of one crown to 35 sous tournois, slightly lower than the rate normal at that time (see page 24). The restitution was tied up with the marriage agreement (and indeed was, say Polydore Vergil and Giustinian, passed off as dowry). If the marriage did not take place through Henry's fault, then Tournai would remain to the

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 869, 870 (pp. 304, 308); Barrillon, ii, 167-9; Montfaucon, IV, 167-9; SPV, III, 58; LP, III (i), 728 (p. 255).

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, XII, 14-15, 20-1, 508.

French, but the 600,000 crowns would still be paid. If the marriage failed through a fault on the French side, then Tournai would be handed back to England, and any payment already made by France would be reimbursed. There was further provision that the dowry of the Princess might be cancelled by part of the sum owed for Tournai. By 1520 Tournai was safely in French hands. It remained only to secure England by bolstering up the marriage agreement of 1518. The treaty of June 6th 1520 did precisely this: it reiterated the French total obligation of 1,000,000 crowns under past treaties (in fact an instalment of this had been paid that very May), and the undertaking to pay it off at the rate of 100,000 francs a year in bi-annual instalments. However, even when the debt was paid, the annual pension would continue under certain conditions. It would continue until the marriage took place, and thereafter, first during Henry's life, and, should Mary then succeed her father, and her husband become King of England, it would continue to be paid to Mary and her heirs. If the marriage did not take place, then only the original debt of 1,000,000 crowns would be paid. In this way, the sequence of annual pensions was to be indefinitely prolonged, provided the marriage alliance took place.<sup>1</sup> The 'pension' had for many years been called 'tribute' by the English, and was so termed by Henry VIII and Wolsey, since they chose to regard it as compensation for their ancient claims to France. If our calculations as to value are correct, then the 100,000 francs a year would have equalled about £10,000 in English money.

The elaborate precautions to safeguard the royal marriage alliance tacitly admit that its future was in doubt. It had been threatened from the first by the Emperor. As soon as the 1520 meeting was over, he suggested his own marriage to the Princess Mary, despite the disparity in their ages. It was a proposition which King Henry undoubtedly found attractive, although he told the French that he had stoutly rebuffed it. These were early days in the sad story of marriage plans for Mary Tudor. She was eventually to marry the Emperor's son Philip (Philip II of Spain, born in 1527). In 1520 she was already pledged to the Dauphin by the betrothal ceremony of 1518 (when she was two and a half years old). In the Queen's Great Chamber at Greenwich the Princess, in cloth of gold and a black velvet cap, was 'taken in arms' and

<sup>1</sup> Rymer, XIII, 428-31, 632-49, 719-22; LP, III (i), 795. Polydore Vergil, p. 249; LP, II (ii), 4413, 4457; Rawdon Brown, ii, 208.

betrothed with a golden ring, set with a diamond, which was placed on her finger by the Admiral of France, representing the Dauphin. Mary, aged four in 1520, now had her own household and wardrobe, even her cloth of estate in red and gold, while the Dauphin, seen by ambassador Wingfield was 'marvelously well disposed to be joyous as ever I saw child . . . I saw him out of his clouts [clothes] I assure Your Highness [King Henry] it is as fair a babe as can be, and as large for his age [then three years]'.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the reaffirmation of the marriage alliance and annual pension, the 1520 treaty contained an interesting provision that the Anglo-Scottish dispute (as perennial a problem as any in international relations of the time) should be settled by Cardinal Wolsey and the Queen Mother of France, evidence of their importance and parity in diplomacy. In fact Scotland had not adhered to the Anglo-French peace of 1518 (when King Henry was reputed to be against arbitration). In 1520, the current truce between England and Scotland was due to expire on November 30th, and King Francis received a memorandum of what the Scots wished him to say at his meeting with King Henry. They urged the necessity for France, England and Denmark to have resident ambassadors to watch over the safety of the realm; the need for Albany to be allowed to return, the concern of France to be consulted, as in the past, over any truces with England, and the conviction that the English wished to keep the Scots divided and fighting. In early 1521, the proposed mediation of Cardinal and Queen Mother was still expected; the King of England was reputed to wish for ambassadors to be sent to England to settle affairs within the truce period (six months); otherwise he would revert to open war.<sup>2</sup>

With such agreements made or projected (and we may note that all the work was done before the meeting of the Kings), it only remained for the Cardinal to finalize details of this great ceremonial occasion. We are told that Wolsey returned to Ardres on June 7th, the day fixed for the first royal interview. He dined with the King in state, but thereafter many difficulties arose and it was feared that the royal meeting would not take place. Solemn promises had, however, been made the day before. Henry had

<sup>1</sup> For the term tribute Rawdon Brown, i, 237; Cavendish, p. 64. For imperial offers LP, III (i), 906, 1150 (p. 425), 1213 (p. 458). For Mary and the Dauphin LP, III (i), 580, 752; (cf. II (ii), p. 473).

<sup>2</sup> Rymer, XIII, 720; LP, III (i), 859; SPV, III, 128, 150, 154; Rawdon Brown, i, 109; Polydore Vergil, pp. 253, 317.



received the French undertaking, and given his, on the field of arms, where he had been exercising his horses. In fact, these plans were adhered to. Wolsey returned to Guines at about 3 o'clock, and the royal encounter was staged later that same afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

From this moment, Wolsey's share in the meeting is unrecorded. We can watch him at the banquets, we may presume his absence on some occasions from the jousts. It seems that he was attempting some larger settlement behind the scenes, as was hinted of his first meeting with Francis I. On June 16th-17th, there is a Venetian report that the Cardinal is to make a settlement between the Emperor and Francis, but that Francis has denied that any new agreement would be made – the Emperor must keep his existing promises.<sup>2</sup> The Cardinal was obstinate on this matter, and may well have pursued it. Certainly he enlisted the help of the Queen Mother on some secret matter. She was pre-eminent in her son's counsels, and approached by all who would win him. That she and Wolsey were to collaborate in an Anglo-Scottish settlement is an indication of their parity in diplomatic negotiations. We have, however, only a straw in the wind. An undated letter to the Cardinal from Wingfield, written at the meeting, states that the latter had sent for the Treasurer of France, because he himself was ill, and asked him to take Wolsey's message to the Queen Mother, 'my lady' (as she is always called in Wingfield's correspondence). The message was delivered, and the Queen Mother informed that the Cardinal promised in a few days to tell her some things which no one else must communicate. At this she showed herself, like a woman (so Wingfield), very anxious to speak with the Cardinal, and begged that, while the Kings were together at the field of arms, the Cardinal would visit her, either that day or the next. There is unfortunately nothing further, save public banquets. On June 17th the Queen Mother dined with Catherine of Aragon and Wolsey in Wolsey's apartments at Guines, and on the 18th the Cardinal dined with her at Ardres.<sup>3</sup>

It is most regrettable that we have no more on Wolsey's role at the meeting. It is well known that, like many diplomats, he could vary his mood and manner. Famed for his eloquence, he was accustomed to fulsome orations and excuses in the best

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 68, 73.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 87.

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), 872; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 26-7). BM. MS. Cotton Galba B VII, f. 194.

courtly style. Some doubted his sincerity, as Giustinian who wrote (perhaps in an angry moment) 'His right reverend lordship never says what he means, but the reverse of what he intends to do' and thought the King 'more sincere and free in judging what was right' than his minister. The Cardinal could have his rougher moods, as the incident in 1516 when in a fury at papal diplomacy he seized the unfortunate papal nuncio, had his papers and cyphers also seized, and threatened him with the rack (so Giustinian) if he did not reveal what the Cardinal wished to know of his doings. At this time Giustinian also came in for abuse; the Cardinal was so angry with Venice that in speaking to her ambassador he gnawed with his teeth at the cane in his hand. This cane, so celebrated to contemporaries, was the instrument of fear in the Star Chamber. Skelton writes that there the Cardinal could be seen

Clappyng his rod on the borde  
No man durst speke a worde.

The Cardinal's bluntness could be useful on occasion. Ambassador Wingfield wrote of King Francis's suggestion (in 1520) that the Cardinal should write to the pope in 'your round and plain fashion' and in 1523 Sir Thomas More reported the King's request that Wolsey should write to the Regent of the Netherlands a 'good round letter . . . in your own name'. This style was no doubt a variant of the missive to the pope in 1516 which we have already noted for its asperity. The Cardinal was also notorious for his difficulty of access. Giustinian got into the way of sending his secretary to request an interview, and this entailed six or seven visits to York House before an audience was obtained. In 1521, when Wolsey's diplomatic zenith was reached, and Emperor and Regent conferred with him at Bruges, the Venetian ambassador had to dine with Thomas More, for the Cardinal was inaccessible. In 1520, however, when Wolsey's favourite scheme of Anglo-French concord was under way, it seems likely that his blander self would have been in evidence. Priding himself on his mediation between the two kingdoms, and on his legation, he would have been flattered by his acknowledged diplomatic parity with Louise of Savoy. Perhaps the Queen Mother, who regarded even the Duke of Suffolk as an upstart, may have been flattered into some accord with the base-born Cardinal? On one point, that of language, more information is needed. It seems that, despite his period of residence in Calais, Wolsey may have had some difficul-

ties with French. In July of this year King Francis received a letter in French, written by the Cardinal in his own hand. The King asked that in future Wolsey would write in French, even though it might be somewhat painful to him. Francis, clasping the letter to his bosom, gave out that he could read the writing 'more currently' than he could his own. Evidently the King had not fulfilled an extravagant promise to learn English, made in 1518 as a gesture towards Anglo-French understanding. As for Wolsey, he would have had the assistance of his King's French secretary (an appointment dating from the days of Lancastrian rule in France) John Meautis. For daily negotiations, however, there was need of personal knowledge, and we do not know how the Cardinal fared. With the Emperor and his ambassadors, as with Giustinian and no doubt other Italians, he is known to have spoken Latin.<sup>1</sup>

These are the background details of the main story, which is known in almost too abundant commentaries. The meeting of the two Kings on Thursday, June 7th, the feast of Corpus Christi, is overdocumented, like some modern pageant which has been 'written up' by over enthusiastic journalists. The place selected for this encounter, a vale already known as 'the golden', had been chosen by the Earl of Worcester and the Seigneur de Chatillon, about one mile from Guines, and between two 'eminences' which we are told had been artificially constructed. It was marked by 'pennons', but a crisis arose at the last minute, because Chatillon 'in rigorous and cruel manner' threw down the English pennants of white and green (the royal colours) which had been set up by Gibson, Sergeant of the Tents. The English submitted, on the advice of their 'marshall' the Earl of Essex. An argument for the exactitude of the Hampton Court painting is that the meeting place is marked only by the white pennons of France. Within this enclosure, and contrary to the original instructions (no doubt a concession to the heat) there was erected 'before daie was set' a splendid tent of cloth of gold, provided by King Henry. Hall describes it as all cloth of gold, with rich embroidery, hung with the richest tapestry, carpeted with Turkey carpet, and having inside a cloth of estate (a canopy over a royal seat or throne) and two chairs with crimson cushions. Italian accounts speak of a tent

<sup>1</sup> Rawdon Brown, ii, 15, 51, 117, 314; i, 129. Skelton, ii, 32; Ellis, i, 195; SPV, III, 163; LP, III (i), 894; LP, III (i), 728 (p. 254); SPV, III, 50 (p. 14); LP, II (ii), 4652.

of cloth of gold on crimson, and of gold brocade, and state that it was small but elegant. In the Hampton Court painting it is cloth of gold flowered with red and lined with blue powdered with fleur-de-lis. The whole is crowned by St. George, who had here come into his own. Alternate round and square pavilions, in the Tudor colours of white and green, surround this great tent. The evidence of the painting may be compared with that of the drawing in the British Museum (Plate IV) which gives some idea of contemporary fashions in design and embellishment.<sup>1</sup>

This meeting place was hemmed around with troops. Hall tells us that, in the fields about, both far and nigh, there were many of the French guard, the King's, the Duke of Bourbon's and the Admiral's, riding and beholding the disposition of the English. We may be sure that this action was not one sided. Hall primly remarks that the English lords set their people and servants 'in good arraie of battaill, in a plain felde directly before the castle of Guysnes', the King commanding that his guard should be in the van 'the breste of the battaill'. This 'battle', of footmen, never broke its ranks. There was certainly a similar array of French troops and retainers in the rear of the French procession to the meeting.

When these dispositions were made, the castle of Guines shot a warning piece (three cannon shots) to the town of Ardres, and likewise the town of Ardres gave a warning to the castle of Guines. This was the method of signalling between the two camps. The two Kings would set out each day at identically the same time, thus being hostages for each other (as Florange in fact states). Again, when one King dined with the other's Queen, guns would signal their leavetaking, so that the return journeys might be synchronized. Evidently Wolsey's arrangements had left nothing to chance.

King Henry left Guines at 5 o'clock. The order and exact numbers of the procession is now a matter of guesswork between the very summarized, and sometimes inaccurate, detail of the Hampton Court painting, and the written records, by no means reconcileable in entirety, and above all differing as to the order of the whole. Perhaps the Hampton Court painting may be taken as a reliable guide to the normal sequence of the different elements in such a procession. There come first, infantry with halberds, some

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 195-6; SPV, III, 60 (pp. 42-3), 68 (pp. 50-1), 69, 71; LP, III (i), 870 (p. 310).



mounted men, more halberdiers, followed by footsoldiers without weapons. Then come nobles and gentlemen and a group including Wolsey's crossbearer. Garter King of Arms then precedes the Earl of Dorset, who bears the sword of state; then comes the King, with Wolsey on his left, followed by ranks of noblemen in fours, in which we can distinguish the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Essex (bearing his Marshall's baton), and the Bishops in the second rank. Behind come more of the guard, more nobles, and their servants. Ayloffe, who described the painting in 1770, was puzzled by the two greyhounds near Dorset, but we know that greyhounds were among the presents given by the King to his French rival. The figure of Henry VIII, painted and repainted, is not in accord with the costume known to have been worn by Henry on this day, and his mount is white and not bay (as attested by the written records). As we have already noticed, the King's head has been cut out and reinserted, and is in a later style. Another curiosity of the painting is that it makes the procession wind its way *into* the castle of Guines, no doubt for artistic reasons. In fact, the procession, starting from the castle, joined the escorting infantry, which waited in the field outside.<sup>1</sup>

From the visual record at Hampton Court we may proceed to the comments of those on the spot. What struck Italian observers, who praised the French procession as the more elegant, was the weight and lustre of the golden chains (or collars) worn by the English nobles, and the large number clad in cloth of gold. Erasmus had scoffed at the chains: 'everyone pleases himself the more by how much the more massive is the chain he swags on his shoulders, as if he meant to show his strength as well as his wealth'. Sir Thomas More, on being taken to the Tower, refused to part with his. He was a Knight, he said, and wished his enemies to fare the better for him if he were taken in the field. According to Hall, the 1520 procession included some lords and gentlemen wearing collars of SS; this was the collar worn and distributed by John of Gaunt, and after him by Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, revived by Henry VII, and still worn by Her Majesty's officers of arms. There were also present members of the Order of the Garter, wearing the collar, a part of the insignia of the Order which had been instituted by Henry VII, and which comprised a collar of garters with a 'double' rose in each (white

<sup>1</sup> Anglo, loc. cit., has compared the painting and the records. The above account, written independently, substantially agrees with Anglo's.

on red, and red on white, alternately) and with a pendant St. George.<sup>1</sup> The King himself wore the collar of the Garter; he struck a Venetian observer as a handsome prince, the most jovial (*allegro*) he had ever seen, appearing as well pleased with the interview as if he had gained a whole realm. Hall describes the King's costume as of cloth of silver, of damask, ribbed with cloth of gold, and pleated very thick and 'canteled [cornered] of verie good intaile'. It was studded with jewels, and over it the jewelled collar of the Order and a massive gold belt. The King wore a black hat with black feathers. His horse was a bay ('morello') Neapolitan courser, of the breed of the Duke of Termini, or rightly Termoli, on the Adriatic coast, a title held by the Capua family. The horse was trapped in fine bullion 'pounced and sette with anticke woorke of Romaine figures', presumably a reference to classical motifs. Another observer mentions the bells, the size of an egg, which hung from the trappings, and which, from their sound, were of gold (in the Hampton Court painting, golden trappings have a design of roses on breastpiece, headstalls, reins, and stirrups, with golden tassels hanging from the border). The Master of the Horse, Sir Henry Guildford, led the King's spare mount, with trappings in gold 'in scifers' (i.e. with lettering in the design), and tassels pendant. Then came pages or henchmen (some seven, eight or nine) riding coursers of Naples, the men in cloth of tissue, their mounts with trappings of gold bullion 'sette full of trembling spanges' (spangles).<sup>2</sup>

The royal procession was a large one. There were the 39 nobles and gentlemen scheduled to attend this first meeting (see Appendix A): the Cardinal (in crimson satin), the Archbishop, the 7 Bishops, the 2 Dukes, the Marquis, 10 Earls and 18 others. In addition there were the gentlemen of their retinues, servants, the contingent of archers, and other troops, not to mention the heralds and musicians. One account mentions 12 heralds, 12 trumpets, 12 macebearers, while another mentions trumpets and sackbutts (a precursor of the trombone). Certainly, musicians, to provide the loud and strident music customary at processions and triumphs, were in evidence on both sides. The planned order was that the servants of the King should march next to him, preceded

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*; Beltz, op. cit., p. lxxviii; *Archaeologia*, XXXIX, pp. 264-70. The collar can be seen on the obverse of Henry's Great Seal (cf. *Archaeologia*, XXXV, plate xxii).

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 198; SPV, III, 50 (p. 20), 60 (p. 45), 67, 68, 71, 72, 73.

by the nobles and gentlemen of the legate, who in turn followed the gentlemen of the other lords. The King's guard were to follow him in their accustomed places. It seems that in fact, the archers of the royal guard, and those of Wolsey's, headed the main body of the procession. One account mentions 60 of the King's and 60 of the Cardinal's, on horseback carrying their bows. These royal archers, (not shown in the Hampton Court painting) were the yeomen of the guard; 200, half mounted and half on foot, are mentioned in the official arrangements for the meeting; they would have worn their doublets and red coats, with goldsmith's work as decoration (see page 59). These archers were preceded by the escorting infantry, which the procession had joined in the field outside the castle. According to one account 500, clad in white and green velvet and carrying halberds, were followed by some larger contingent of infantry with swords; one estimate for them is 2,000, another (probably too large) is 4,000. One English estimate of the whole procession is 500 on horseback and 3,000 on foot, probably not too wide of the mark; another gives 400 to 500 nobles and gentlemen. The escorting infantry, that unswerving 'arraie of battaill' of which Hall writes so proudly, emphasizes the problem of security. It may be noted that there were special arrangements about the carrying of arms. The nobles and gentlemen wore only their swords, a common stipulation at diplomatic meetings, and various references to the retinues being 'unarmed' and 'without harness' (armour) specifically refer to the bearing of swords by some, and of halberds by others. Evidently these weapons, and the bows of the archers, were permitted, but not others. The whole concourse was graced by the presence of the ambassadors to Henry's court, with their retinues. The papal nuncio (Hieronimo Ghinucci, Bishop of Ascoli) rode with the Archbishop; the Spanish ambassador (Bernard de Mesa, Bishop of Helna) with Buckingham, and the Venetian (Antonio Surian) with Suffolk.<sup>1</sup>

The French procession set out from Ardres at about the same hour, halting just outside the village, so that the King might greet his mother, who had come with the Queen to see the sights. Hall writes moodily of the 'ruffelers and gallants of the French court', the French nobles wearing garments of many colours 'so that they

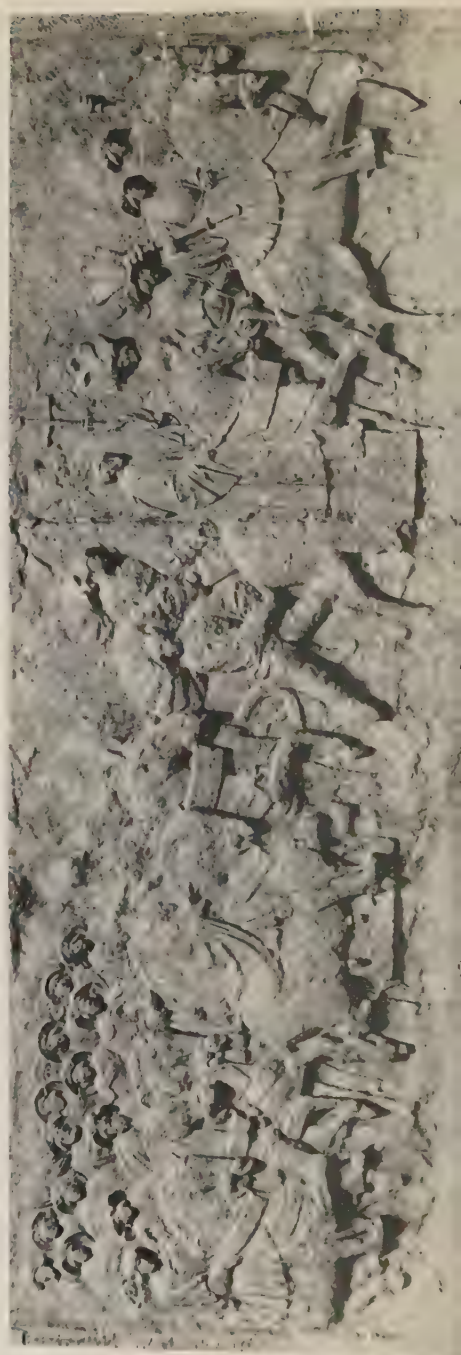
<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 198; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 20-1), 60 (p. 45), 67 (p. 48), 68, 69, 71 (p. 57); LP, III, (i), 870 (p. 309); Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116 (see Appendix C). For the ambassadors, see LP, III (i), 702 (p. 236), 781, 791, 863, 870, 875, 879; SPV, III, 1, 42, 47 et seq.



PLATE I

THE HENRY VII COPE (*Stonyhurst College*)







(Archives Photographiques Paris)

PLATE II

THE MEETING OF THE KINGS. Bas-relief at the Hôtel Bourgheroulde in Rouen (*from plaster casts of the original*)

- IIa Henry VIII sets out for the meeting
- IIb Cardinal Wolsey's Procession
- IIc The Meeting of the kings



PLATE III

THE FIELD OF CLOTH OF GOLD

*(Painting at Hampton Court, Artist Unknown)*





*(Reproduced by Gracious permission of HM the Queen)*





PLATE IV

DESIGN FOR A TENT (*British Museum Manuscript Cotton Augustus I (ii), No. 76*)



*(Reproduced by Gracious permission of HM the Queen)*

PLATE V

EMBARKATION OF HENRY VIII (*Painting at Hampton Court, Artist Unknown*)



*(Reproduced by Gracious permission of HM the Queen)*

PLATE VI

DETAIL SHOWING HENRY VIII AND HIS COURTIERS

*(Painting at Hampton Court, Artist Unknown)*

were not known from the braggery'. We have seen that the nobles of the blood were to wear what they liked, as were certain others. The result was a preponderance of cloth of gold and velvet. One Italian account mentions 300 in the gold, and a great number in velvet.<sup>1</sup>

The French procession, like the English, was essentially the King with the 39 notables who had been chosen to attend this first meeting (see Appendix B). It seems that it was led by all or part of the contingent of royal archers, in 'hocquetons' or short coats, of goldsmith's work. There were the three Marshals of France, a company of household officials, led by the Grand Master (René of Savoy), of gentlemen led by the 'Grand Seneschal' (the Seneschal of Provence, Jean de Poitiers, Seigneur de S. Vallier, father of Diane de Poitiers), and of gentlemen pensioners, with their falcon-beaked wands, led by the Prince of Talmont and the Prince of La Roche sur Yon. The Swiss guard of one hundred, under their Captain, de Florange, came on foot, save for their officers. They were famed for their plumed head-dresses, and on this occasion their white, tawny, and black plumes (in the royal colours) 'reached to the clouds'. They were accompanied by drums and fifes. There were other musicians; trumpets, hautboys, shawns (short wind instruments with conical pipe and double reed), clarions (the shrill herald's trumpets), sackbutts, and horns, all with banners displayed. This joyous shrill music, befitting triumph, played the procession along, as did its English counterpart. Then came the heralds, also with their banners, some the private heralds of the great nobles, others the royal officers. Nearest the King were Kings of Arms Mountjoy (opposite number of Garter), Bretagne and Normandie. Immediately before the King rode the Constable, Bourbon, in cloth of gold, his courser trapped in the same. He bore his sword of office unsheathed, as was customary on such occasions. The Grand Écuyer, or Master of the Horse (San Severino), bore the royal sword of state.<sup>2</sup> This may well have been the sword, no doubt already old, which was borne by the Grand Écuyer before Charles VII on his state entry into Rouen in 1449, after its reconquest from the English. This sword was of gold, the sheath and belt of blue velvet, powdered with fleur-de-lis.<sup>3</sup>

The King himself was splendidly clothed. Eyewitness accounts

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 197, 200; SPV, III, 60 (p. 45), 67 (p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 60 (pp. 43-5), 67 (pp. 47-8); Montfaucon, IV, 169-70; LP, III (i), 369 (p. 304), 870 (p. 310).

<sup>3</sup> Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII*, pub. par Vallet de Virville, Paris, 1858, ii, 164-8.



vary, as we should expect in that most difficult of mediums, the verbal description of costume. One mentions cloth of gold on cloth of silver, the gold richly jewelled, the front and sleeves being set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. Another writes of the doublet, embroidered with gold knots, the shirt protruding through the slashes, and with jewelled tags. Hall calls this garment a 'chemew', stating that it was cloth of silver ribbed with cloth of gold (i.e. like that of King Henry). The 'chemew' or 'chamarre', which Hall remarked as a fashion new to England when worn by the French ambassadors in 1518, was a 'goune cut in the middle' or (according to Cotgrave the lexicographer) 'a loose light gowne that may be worn aswash or skarfwise, also a studded garment'. Over the 'chemew', the King wore an embroidered cloth of gold cloak, richly jewelled. It was like a half cape, fastened on the left shoulder. His black hat was jewelled and decked with black feathers. He wore white boots, and rode a bay courser, trapped in cloth of gold, the front piece studded with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls. It was a bay jumper, 'il morello saltatore', from the Mantuan stud, presented to the King by the father of the then Marquis. Hall, who first saw the French King when he emerged from the golden tent, after his meeting with King Henry, described him as 'stately of countenance, mery of chere, broune coloured, great iyes, high nosed, bigge lipped, faire breasted and shoulders, small legges, and long fete', almost the typical Frenchman, in English eyes.<sup>1</sup>

With the King rode the King of Navarre, the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Alençon, the Duke of Vendôme, the Admiral, the Cardinals of France and some prelates. The Knights of the Order of St. Michael wore their insignia and tabards; many of the princes and nobles wore cloth of gold doublets and capes like their King. It was an elegant cavalcade, completed by the ambassadors with their retinues. The papal nuncio (Giovanni Rucellai of Florence, auditor of the papal camera) came with Alençon; the imperial ambassador with Lorraine; one Venetian ambassador (Giovanni Badoer) with Vendôme, another (Antonio Giustinian) with S. Pol. There were also ambassadors from Mantua (Soardino) and Ferrara. The procession rode in splendid state. One observer comments that they showed off their horses, and so heat and dust without end accompanied them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 200; Montfaucon, IV, 170; SPV, III, 60 (p. 43), 68 (p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 169-70; LP, III (i), 870 (p. 310); SPV, III, 67 (p. 48),

Suspicion vied with reassurance until the last moment. Each side was certain that the other had larger and unauthorized numbers. An Italian source states that the French had the larger and also some 3,000 to 4,000 troops within call. Another Italian account states that the English in their turn had 1,500 more than they should. Proclamations on the subject continued. On June 7th all unauthorized persons were ordered to leave, and we are told that many were sent away, especially by the French. They found the English 'battle' of footmen so imposing that they sent officials to inspect them, and to see that they were not armed (beyond the agreed stipulation). Hall tells us that the French royal guard, and some of the Duke of Bourbon's and the Admiral's, 'slyly marked the conveyhaunce of the people of Englande'. The English retaliated by inspecting the French ranks.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, fear of hidden forces, and of turbulent crowds at the meeting itself, cannot have induced confidence. Hall states that King Francis dismounted, on his way to the interview, and would not have proceeded, had not a French lord reassured him of King Henry's fidelity. The same source mentions that King Henry was informed by Lord Abergavenny who had ridden among the French, that they were twice as numerous as the English. The Earl of Shrewsbury thereupon told the King that the French were more afraid of him than he of them and counselled him to march on, to which the King replied that he intended to do so. The heralds then cried 'On afore' and the procession continued.<sup>2</sup> Thus the two companies, halted by suspicion, eventually made their way to the golden vale. Here they stopped, each in sight of the other, facing across the valley from the 'eminences' or mounds which had been raised for the occasion. Each side made proclamation that the company should halt and should remain standing still, on pain of death, until the two Kings had ridden down the valley.<sup>3</sup>

The final moment had now come. The musicians had stopped playing when the two companies arrived and halted at their respective places marked by pennons. After a pause, the trumpets

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 67 (p. 48), 73, 80, 89; LP, III (i), 869 (pp. 303-4).

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 197-8.

<sup>3</sup> Bod. MS. Ashmole, 1116, f. 100v.

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70 (p. 56), 73 (p. 58). A fuller account of the Mantuan report is in Sanuto, XXIX, p. 235. For the ambassadors, see LP, III (i), 720, 784; SPV, III, 27, 70, 73 et seq. For the processional order of the royal entry of 1515, see T. Godefroy, *Le ceremonial de France*, Paris 1649, pp. 152 et seq.

sounded up: those of England were answered by those of France, the signal for the two Kings to ride on. Henry was with Wolsey, Dorset, bearing the sword of state, Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse, in cloth of gold, and ambassador Wingfield, in a brocade garment given him by the King of France. With King Francis were the Constable, bearing his sword of office, the Admiral, in gold and silver, his sailor's whistle decked with pearls and jewels, and the Master of the Horse (San Severino) bearing the sword of state. As mediator, Wolsey had presumably arranged that the three persons on each side should accompany their King. It seems that only the Kings and Wolsey were on horseback for this final part of the ceremony, and that each king had two running footmen as attendants. Those of Francis wore white velvet and silver, those of Henry crimson velvet and gold. King Henry commanded Dorset to unsheath the sword of state, since he observed that the Constable of France bore his sword unsheathed. The distance to the actual meeting place was short; one account states that it was fifty paces, another that the two mounds were a bow's shot apart.<sup>1</sup> A spear in front of the golden tent marked the exact place of meeting. At a distance of 'two bowls' throw', the two Kings halted. Each spurred his horse, as if for battle, but then put hand to bonnet, not to sword. They then rode forward and embraced, still on horseback, after which they alighted, and embraced again, 'as if meeting for the first time'. In fact, it seems that this was the first encounter of the two Kings.<sup>2</sup>

The day was hot: one Italian wrote of sun so scorching that it could not have been hotter in St. Peter's Rome. Nevertheless, the two Kings walked bareheaded in the sunshine, Henry contriving to put Francis on his right, as strict precedence and the agreement enjoined, for the meeting was on English soil, and Henry therefore technically the host. Arm in arm the two Kings, with Wolsey and the Admiral, entered the tent. Bourbon, Dorset, and the two Masters of the Horse, and Wingfield remained outside. Trumpets and instruments sounded, so that it seemed a paradise. The royal footmen and the attendants of the six great personages rode up and down keeping strict array, at some distance from the tent (no doubt exercising the horses). It has been suggested that Bourbon drew unappeasable anger from this incident, i.e. at being left out-

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 199; SPV, III, 60 (p. 44), 67 (p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 21), 60 (pp. 44-5); LP, III (i), 869 (p. 305), 870 (p. 310); Hall, i, 199; Montfaucon, IV, 170-1.

side the tent. It would seem however, that this is an over-dramatic interpretation. Whatever his grievances against the Crown, and they were many and increasing, the Constable can hardly have objected to being placed on guard during the interview. As chief military officer of the Crown, he and Dorset his opposite number (for there was no Constable of England) would have been placed at this point of vantage to ensure security and order among the many retainers under their command. They held their swords unsheathed and walked up and down at the entrance to the tent. After about a quarter of an hour, the two ministers came out of the tent, going to the tents where the wine was (we are told that two tents, some eighty paces away, served for this purpose). Left alone, the two monarchs are said to have drunk from the same cup; Hall mentions a 'banquet', or light refreshment.<sup>1</sup> The conversation between the two Kings has been variously imagined. Hall has Francis mention his long travels to meet Henry, and the might of his own realms and dominions, to which Henry rejoins that neither realms nor dominions of France are a matter for his regard 'but the stedfastness and loyall keypyng of promessee comprised in Charters betwene you and me'. Henry declares that, if these are observed, he never saw a prince that he could love more; he had crossed the sea to the furthest frontier of his realm for the love of the French King. A Genoese account states that Wolsey first had read out the articles and conventions between the two Kings (presumably the treaty of June 6th, and its predecessors). There was then a dispute as to the King of England's title to the crown of France, and King Henry offered to expunge this title from the documents being read. Francis is made to reply gallantly that Henry is now King of France, as he is now Francis's friend. Setting friendship aside, however, he acknowledges no King of France but himself. Henry then expostulates that, although he has been deeply in love, he never had so strong a wish nor desire to gratify any of his appetites, as that of seeing and embracing Francis. He would never love anyone as he loved the French King, he swore he would not fail in this love, but should he do so, he was willing to be accounted the most base and sorry prince and gentleman in the world.<sup>2</sup> All these accounts are by those present at the meeting, but not presumably in the royal tent at the interview itself. They may have been told what happened, but at most the accounts are at

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*; LP, III (i), 369 (p. 305); Terrasse, *op. cit.*, i, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 199; SPV, III, 60 (pp. 45-6); Florange, i, 268.



second hand. The flavour of elaborate politeness and traditional chivalry is, however, probably genuine.

The length of this first meeting is variously given as half an hour, an hour, two hours. During this time, drinks were distributed to the assembled company, in large silver gilt cups. There were also spiced biscuits, too spicy for some.<sup>1</sup> Wolsey however was getting impatient. He had put in a long day, and seems to have forgotten himself. At first, he and the Admiral went back into the tent, it being the hour of sunset, and informed their masters that the hour was late. The chief nobles of England and France were then presented to the Kings by the royal kinsmen, Suffolk and Alençon. Among those presented were Buckingham, Northumberland, and Devonshire on the English side, and Navarre, Vendôme, Lorraine, the Grand Master, and La Trémouille on the French. Toasts were drunk 'Good friends English and French', spices and wine, chiefly hippocras (see below, page 147) being served. During all this the English, both nobles and serving men, stood their ground in unbroken array, a fact observed by an Italian, and proudly related by Hall. It seems that in the general excitement the French broke their ranks and ran forward to the central enclosure. There must have been some relaxation of the military discipline, however, for certain English officers ran with pots of wine and bowls, to the French, and all who would were served with drink.

By this time, the Cardinal was already mounted and anxious to leave. He returned to tell the King of the late hour, only to be dismissed with the comment that Henry wished to stay yet longer with King Francis. The Cardinal might return if he chose. Presumably Wolsey waited, for to leave on such an occasion would have been a breach of etiquette even from so proud a servant. When at last the two Kings parted, it was almost dark. Francis did not arrive in Ardres until after nightfall. On the way, his horse kicked the Admiral and the English ambassador.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 67 (p. 49), 69 (pp. 52-3), 90 (p. 71); Bod. MS. Ashmole 11116, f. 101<sup>r</sup> (Appendix C).

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 199-200; SPV, III, 50 (p. 21), 60 (pp. 44-6), 67 (p. 49); LP, III (i), 869 (p. 305).

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## *The Feat of Arms*

The two Kings could now proceed to the delights of the feat of arms or *pas d'armes*, the most elaborate manifestation of the tournament, by this time no longer a training for war, but a courtly amusement. The *pas d'armes* usually included jousting or individual combat, both on horseback and on foot, and the tournament proper, or group combat, which term could still be used for the whole spectacle. The holder of the tournament would issue a challenge, often to all-comers of whatsoever nation, defining the type of combat. The challenge might be an allegorical 'drama': the knight (or knights) would announce his intention of defending his lady, and invent an elaborate fantasy on this theme. The lady might be a shepherdess, and her defendants shepherds, as at Tarascon in 1449, there might be a classical theme, with Pallas and Diana, as in England in 1510, the challengers might call themselves knights of the realm of 'Coeur loyal' as in England the following year, or they might be King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table as at Cognac in February 1520. Appropriate costumes, settings and scenic devices would be created, so that this 'soft and silken war' became a mimed heroic drama. The rules of combat were minutely defined according to established custom, which appears to have been well understood and similar in England, France, and the Low Countries. The officers of arms, heralds and pursuivants, were the experts on such matters, and there would be erected carefully measured lists (the term for the barrier separating the jousters, and hence for the whole combat area) sometimes open, sometimes closed by barriers or counter-

lists, and often flanked by scaffolds or galleries for the spectators. By this date, and partly because of the dramatic and allegorical element, the presence of the ladies had become essential. It was the ladies, or some of them, who would be defended in the challenge, and who would in their turn award the prizes. The prize-giving took place at the feasting which followed the day's combat, and this indoor spectacle itself was enlivened by some dramatic entertainment, a 'disguising', or sometimes the new fashion (to England, in Henry VIII's reign) of the 'masque'.<sup>1</sup>

By the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the combat itself had been deprived of many dangers, for the early tournaments had been deadly encounters. Weapons were now blunted, and the thick and heavy armour prevented speed. Mr. Denholm Young writes 'It was difficult in the later Middle Ages to unhorse a man who rode in a high cowboy saddle with boot-like stirrups, difficult even to hit him fair and square on his rounded and polished armour as he trotted ponderously past on the other side of the lists that separated the combatants' . . . 'There was nothing like head-on collision in this later medieval jousting, and the risk of serious injury was minimised.' The main object of such jousting was to splinter a lance. Writing of the famous Eglinton tournament of 1839, which attempted to recreate this type of contest, Mr. Anstruther states 'if the knight were using "arms of courtesy" – blunted lances with spiked iron rings on their tips, known as coronels, or wooden discs, known as rochets – and if they were wearing the enormous helmets and huge shields that were made specially for such contests, they were half blind, half deaf, half stifled and half cooked, and if they struck their opponents at all, they only gave them a buffet.' Nevertheless, it is well to remember that wounds were inflicted, and sometimes proved fatal, as the classic example of King Henry II of France was to prove.<sup>2</sup>

In 1520, the challenge went out in the names of the two Kings and fourteen others: the Dukes of Suffolk and Vendôme, the Marquis of Dorset, the Count of S. Pol, the Seigneur de la Rochepot (Anne de Montmorency, future Constable of France, son of the Seigneur de Montmorency)<sup>3</sup> Sir William Kingston, M.

<sup>1</sup> Glynne Wickham, *Early English stages, 1300–1600*, London 1959, i, 13 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> N. Denholm Young, 'The tournament in the thirteenth century' in *Studies in medieval history presented to F. M. Powicke*, Oxford 1948, p. 240; I. Anstruther, *The knight and the umbrella. An account of the Eglinton tournament 1839*, London 1963, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Anselme, VI, 228–9. Born 1491, he was a childhood companion of

Brion (Philippe de Chabot, Seigneur de Brion, future Admiral of France),<sup>1</sup> (Sir) Richard Jermingham, M. Tonavis (Jean de Tavannes, Seigneur de Dalle),<sup>2</sup> Sir Giles Chappel (Capel), M. Boucal (Charles de Refuge, dit Boucal),<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Carew, M. Montafilant (Pierre de Laval Seigneur de Montafilant),<sup>4</sup> and Antony Knevett. The challenge was against all-comers, and was proclaimed in April. Clarencieux King of Arms, went to the French court, where he arrived on the night of April 18th to find Francis I coifed and in his nightgown. The challenge was proclaimed by the herald, with full formality, on the next day. Ambassador Wingfield reported that there had been much despair, at the court, that the meeting would never take place, but that when Clarencieux arrived, the court revived with fuller joy and comfort, in the certainty of the meeting. Meanwhile, Orleans King of Arms, published the challenge in England (at Greenwich) on behalf of King Francis (being rewarded handsomely with £40). It had been intended to send heralds throughout Europe, but by March 26th it was felt that time was running short and that it would be sufficient to publish the challenge in the Low Countries: King Henry should send to Zealand and Holland, and King Francis to (Flanders? there is a gap in the text) and Artois, a neat

<sup>1</sup> Barrillon, i, 72; Florange, i, 5. He was the son of the Seigneur de Jarnac, of a most illustrious family of Poitou. He was brought up with King Francis. (Anselme, VII, 881-2; *Les mémoires de messire Michel de Castelnau illustrez et augmentez de plusieurs commentaires . . . par I. Le Laboureur*, Paris 1659, ii 613-19). He was made a Knight of the Garter. He became Admiral after Bonnavet's death. He married the King's niece, daughter of his half sister Jeanne (a bastard daughter of Angoulême).

<sup>2</sup> That this is correct see LP, III (i), 677. Tavannes was a German, naturalized in 1518; he had fought with the famous Black Band in Italy in 1515 as lieutenant of the Duke of Guelders (Barrillon, ii, 117; Du Bellay, i, 27, 67, 127).

<sup>3</sup> Barrillon, i, 326, ii, 252; Du Bellay, i, 33, 186, 221. He is referred to as Captain Boucal; he died at the siege of Novara in 1522, and was much lamented (LP, III (ii), 2176).

<sup>4</sup> A cadet of the house of Laval; his brother was the Seigneur de Chateaubriand (Barrillon, i, 70).

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Francis I and fought with him in Italy. His wife was Madeleine, daughter of René of Savoy. In 1520, he held the family lands of La Rochepot in Burgundy (which his father Guillaume had acquired by marriage). His younger brother François became Seigneur de La Rochepot in 1522, when the family lands were redivided on the death of the elder of the three brothers, the Seigneur d'Ecouen. This has led to confusion between Anne and François in certain writings on the period. (F. Decrue, *Anne de Montmorency Grandmaître et Connétable de France à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François I*, Paris 1885, pp. 29-30.



division of imperial territory. Norroy King of Arms went in April to Margaret of Savoy, Regent of the Netherlands, in Ghent, and she allowed the challenge to be published after some undisclosed objections. It may be that the Emperor did not wish his subjects to be present, unless his own meeting with Henry and less probably with Francis became a reality. Perhaps Norroy did not proceed further, although he carried letters in 'high dutch' for publication in Germany. In fact, only English and French responded to the challenge: Hall notes that 'from the court of the Emperor, nor of the lady Margaret court, nor of Flanders, Brabant nor Burgoin, came never a persone to aunswere to the chalenge. By that it semed that ther was smal love betwene the Emperor and the French kynge'.<sup>1</sup>

The reason for the challenge was, frankly, amusement and display of martial prowess. The Admiral of France wrote to the Duke of Suffolk that he could think of no more honest pastime, both to keep the two courts from boredom, and also to show to all the friendship between the princes. Hall writes of arrangements 'for the joye of the honourable metyng, there to passe the tyme from idleness, with exercise of noble feates of Arms in honour'. One is reminded of the perpetual need for such 'exercise'. A tournament held at Carignan in Savoy some years earlier had been justified by the fact that 'nothing so corrupts the nobility, as Valerius the great says in the second book of the discipline of chivalry, than to be idle and without attempting noble deeds'. Obviously there was a need for some safety valve of this kind, where warlike youth could disport itself. Sometimes, as at Cognac in 1518, the realism (a full scale siege of a specially constructed 'town', with artillery and cannon) went so far that it became dangerous in the extreme: 'it was the most splendid combat for amusement that was ever seen, and the most near to real war; but some were not pleased by it for there were many killed or driven mad (affolleez)'. In 1520 the general plan was not for full scale warfare, but for a feat of arms with full pageantry and elaborate symbolism. One is reminded of a contemporary tournament song:

Whoso that wyll hymselff applye  
To passe the tyme of youth joly,  
Avaunce hum to the companye  
Of lusty bloddys and chevalry.

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 699, 748, 765, 802, pp. 1540-1; Ellis, i, 166-7 (No. 59); SPV, III, 41; Hall, i, 218; Stow, p. 851; Bod. M.S. Ashmole 1116, f. 107v.

The two Kings took the keenest interest in the arrangements, and indeed King Francis protested that the challenge might, as far as he was concerned, last for a year. Du Bellay comments that the two Kings, having spoken of their personal affairs, decided to pass their time 'en deduit et choses de plaisir' (in delight and pleasant things) leaving the negotiations to those of their council, who would report each day on their work.<sup>1</sup>

The official story is wrapped in the strange conceits of the time. The French version only has survived: it is 'L'ordonnance et ordre du tournoy ioustes et combat a pied et a cheval', part of a pamphlet describing the occasion printed at Paris by Jean Lescaille, no doubt the books which Hall says the French made of the 'triumphant doings'. The prologue to this pamphlet may be rendered as follows: 'Since peace has been made between the King of France, the most Christian, and the King of England, the Victorious, leisure must not revive the venomous serpent (asp) of sedition, nor must repose make effeminate or destroy (annuler) virtuous hearts and nobleness in order to sow there the root of evil voluptuousness and extirpate the will and desire for renown through virtuous and praiseworthy deeds. Since chivalrous Mars has left behind delightful means of avoiding idleness in time of peace: by joyous tournaments jousts and combats (all enmity set aside), so there are sixteen gentlemen of renown and noble blood (eight of France and eight of England) desirous of honour, not trying to outdo one another, but to continue in good deeds, for the honour of God and Our Lady and all the company of heaven, and for the love of their ladies, having the permission of their prince and intending to maintain the articles of the challenge.' The juxtaposition of Christian and courtly motives, the classical god of war and the medieval joust, is an indication of the mingling traditions which had produced this 'silken war'.<sup>2</sup>

Henry of England appears to have taken the leading part in the arrangements for the feat of arms. He won, even in the final siting of the 'field'. In Wolsey's treaty it was stated that this should

<sup>1</sup> BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 30<sup>r</sup> (an unpublished letter of 5th Dec. 1519); Hall, i, 201. For the Carignan tournament S. Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoye*, Lyon 1660, livre VI, p. 469; for the 1518 tournament, Florange, i, 226. The tournament song is quoted in John Stevens, *Music and poetry in the early Tudor court*, London 1961, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> This pamphlet is preserved both in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. It is summarized in LP, III (i), 870.

be chosen by commissioners, somewhere between Guines and Ardres, and the English King sent Worcester, Vaux, Sands, and Belknap to arrange this, to see to its security, the entries, lists, tilts, and galleries for the queens, ladies, nobles, and others. The French held out for a 'field' in French territory, since the first interview of the Kings was to be in English; then they suggested a neutral place on the boundaries. Francis wrote to his commissioner, the Seigneur de Chatillon, that he could give way to the Earl of Worcester on things not of importance, but not on those which could be sustained in accordance with the treaty, for the English were always trying to gain a point, and the lists should be on the boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Debates went on, and not until May 15th did Wingfield write that the French had accepted the spot first chosen by Worcester, on English soil. Chatillon and the French council had tried to obtain something more to the honour of France. Obviously the main debate had been a diplomatic one, although Worcester also hints, perhaps in extenuation, that the actual terrain also influenced the choice.

The site was to be 'appareled, ditched, fortified and kepte of the one and the other partie by equall number of men of armes'. Early in discussions, Francis had 'remitted' to Henry the terms of the challenge, and it seems that the English King, perhaps more expert on these matters, produced a 'platt' or plan of the field, one copy of which was sent to Worcester, and another by Clarencieux to the French. Modifications were suggested by those on the spot. Henry had sited that tilt 208 ft away from the scaffolds or galleries for the Queens and the ladies, but only 88 ft away from those on the opposite side, and Worcester objected that this would not give the ladies a good view. It appears that this modification was adopted, and the tilt placed midway between the spectators' galleries. Chatillon and others were apprehensive of the King's plan for a ditch running in front of the scaffolds; it would hurt their foundations, cause ground to fall in, and the transporting away of the earth would be a problem. Railings were suggested instead, for in any case the ditch would not keep out evilly disposed persons. It seems that both defences were made; first an area 8 ft wide, hemmed in by railings, then an 8 ft wide ditch protected by a bulwark some 9 ft high (for which the earth dug out for the

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 748, 764, 806, 807, 808; BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 34<sup>v</sup>, 37<sup>v</sup> (an unpublished letter of Francis I, Chambord 29th April 1520); *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 18-19.

ditch was used). The work as a whole was shared equally by French and English, but the French brought with them the tilt, counter-lists, stages and barriers recently used in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The 'field' itself, which Hall gives as 900 ft long and 320 ft broad (the commissioners' figures add up to a breadth of 328 ft, but give no indication of length) was 'railed and barred at every ende strongly'. Entry was through gates at either end, with a triumphal arch in front of each entry, and a guard of 10 archers on foot, French archers at the English end (near Guines) and English at the French end (near Ardres).<sup>2</sup> The lists were flanked by scaffolds or galleries, tiered and raised above ground level, for the tilt would have been about a man's height. One gallery, some 230 ft long, and on the right hand of the principal entry (at the English end) was for the Kings, Queens, lords and ladies. It contained a chamber or 'goodly house and galerie', glazed and hung with tapestries, for the Queens (segregation of the sexes was not unusual at such gatherings), and was on the right hand of the main entrance. If we assume that the tilt was on an east-west axis, normally done to shelter the combatants from the full glare of the sun, then, since the English entry (near Guines) would have been at the west end, the royal gallery would have faced north (the most favourable siting for spectators). The gallery on the left, for the other spectators, was probably in three tiers, and ran for some 200 ft.<sup>3</sup> There was finally some dispute about the counter-lists, the barriers which ran parallel to the tilt in front of the scaffolds or galleries. These were erected, in the 'French fashion', but then taken down, at the request of the King of England. As a result, we are told that the horses often swerved, and strokes were made but rarely.<sup>4</sup>

Within the lists, on either side of the main entry, were two chambers or houses where the Kings could arm and take their ease. King Henry had wanted wooden houses, such as princes used in time of war: the French wanted tents and pavilions. Both

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 807; full text in BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, f. 222<sup>r</sup>; Hall, i, 185; *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 85-7.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 201; LP, III (i), 870 (p. 310); SPV, III, 50 (pp. 21-2), 60 (p. 40), 68 (p. 50).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*; LP, III (i), 746; *Archaeologia*, XXI, p. 177; BM. MS. Add. 4620, f. 313<sup>v</sup>. Mr Anglo has recently discussed this subject in 'The Hampton Court painting of the Field of Cloth of Gold considered as an historical document', *Antiquaries Journal*, xlvii (ii), 1966, pp. 300-2. He there cites additional evidence from College of Arms MS. 1st M.6, f. 9-9b.

<sup>4</sup> SPV, III, 81 (p. 63), 90 (p. 71); LP, III (i), 869 (p. 306).



may have been constructed, for we read of the wooden house where the Kings met, of an armoury, and we know that King Francis had a chamber of cloth of gold and silver, decked with crimson velvet stripes, in which he armed for the lists. There were also two 'cellars' for wine, which was freely distributed. Outside the lists, and linked with them by an esplanade over the ditch, were the tents and pavilions for the other combatants. Beyond again, there were probably the two fields for exercising of arms, as suggested by the French.<sup>1</sup>

The challenge was given a symbolic setting. Within the lists, and between the two arming chambers, there had been constructed a Tree of Honour, an artificial tree, like an elm, which Hall estimated as 34 ft high, 129 ft in circumference and 43 ft in span. Round it were entwined two other trees, an aubespine or whitethorn (the common hawthorn) for England, and a framboisier or raspberry for France. The whole was made of wood: the accounts mention a mast of fir, birch boughs, artificially lengthened and strengthened; the whitethorn had a body 22 ft long, and the raspberry was made of 13 spars, each of 40 ft, and 15 smaller ones. The wood was covered with green damask (at 7*s.* 6*d.* a yard) green satin and green sarsenet, with some 'withered' boughs of cloth of gold (over 600 yards of material in all). The whitethorn had flowers and buds of silk, 262 dozen of them (at 6½*d.* a dozen) and the raspberry 150 dozen flowers (at 4*d.* a dozen). There were also 2,400 cherries and 2,000 white flowers. It may be mentioned that the whitethorn or hawthorn was often used to symbolize England: the Crown had been found under a hawthorn at Bosworth, and in 1513, when Henry VIII entered Théroutanne, his gilded armour was topped with a velvet surcoat, covered with roses and hawthorns of fine gold, as was the bard of his horse. This Tree of Honour, whose root was wrapped in cloth of gold, stood on a square 'mountain' or mound, some 20 ft square, railed about, covered with green damask, and with stairs at its base. It is said to have been the height of a man on horseback. Upon this mountain there were places for the heralds 'harbour wise' and upon it were hung the shields of the combatants (see below). It is to be noted that a mountain was often the scenic device to represent a country, both in dramatic entertainments and in tournaments.

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50 (pp. 21-2); LP, III (i), 746, 807, 808, 870 (p. 310); Hall, i, 201; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 103<sup>r</sup> (Appendix C); BN. MS. Français 103-83, f. 169<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>r</sup>.

In this case, the two trees entwined around the Tree of Honour and the mountain on which it stood would proclaim that England and France were to be defended in the challenge.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the Tree of Honour hung three shields, representing the three parts of the challenge; a black and silver shield for the tilt, a gold and tawny shield for the tournament in the open field, and a silver shield for the armed combat at the barriers. Each shield was suitably inscribed, and those answering the challenge would touch the shield for the type of combat they wished to enter, their names being entered on tablets hung below the shield. Their own shields were then hung up by the heralds on the railing round the mountain. The whole work was subject to much anxiety. On May 23rd and 24th Chatillon wrote that the 'perron' for the shields of arms, and the shields for the challenge, were not yet set up, and that lords were already arriving to answer the challenge. This was more important than disputes over ditches, for people were arriving at all hours, and there was no one to answer them. The 'perron' and Tree of Honour must be set up.<sup>2</sup> 'Perron' is the word for a 'square base of stone or mettall, some five or six feet high, whereon in old time the knights errant placed some discourse, challenge or prooffe of an adventure'; it was the 'mountain' referred to in the English descriptions of the 1520 combat, and a familiar device; for instance in the 1517 tournament after Queen Claude's coronation, there was a great 'perron' set up with the arms of Francis and his Queen. Court poets might write verses to be set upon them, as did Marot for the Dauphin's perron in 1541, at the 'tournoy des chevaliers errans', and for the Duke of Vendôme, and the Duke of Orleans. It was a task which Barclay or Marot might have fulfilled in 1520. The use of shields to represent the different parts of a challenge was common practice, as for instance at the jousts in 1514 in Paris (on the marriage of Mary Tudor and Louis XII) at which four shields, silver, gold, tawny, and black, were hung on an arch, and were touched by those desiring to take part in the different items of the challenge. Those partaking hung up their arms and names under the four shields of the challenge. Mr. Anglo has undertaken, in words and diagram, a comparison of the written evidence summarized above

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 201; SPV, III, 50 (p. 22); LP, III (ii), p. 1553 (the original of this, the accounts of the Revels office, is PRO.E 36/217 (ff. 279-88) which has been checked for all details quoted).

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 88-9; SPV, 50 (p. 22); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 307).

and the visual evidence of the Hampton Court painting. He concludes that the painting 'bears scarcely any resemblance whatever to actuality', for there are the following discrepancies: square and not rectangular lists, only one entry, no triumphal arches, no bulwark, no arming chambers, only one gallery, a Tree of Honour which is merely a real tree decked in red and gold, and no 'mountain'. Clearly in this case, unlike that of the English 'palace', the painting is a hindrance rather than a help to the historian.<sup>1</sup>

What then of the feat of arms itself? It was to consist first, of jousting at the tilt, then of tournament in the open field, and finally of combat on foot at the barriers. In 'remitting' the main provisions to King Henry, Francis had suggested six courses only at the tilt, for some were so vainglorious as to want to run the whole day, and the number of combatants would be large. One course at the tournament should suffice, for there would be many shocks and hurts, and more courses could not be run without dangers to the riders, and loss of many horses. In the combat on foot, the number of strokes should be determined at the pleasure of the ladies. Light swords were favoured by the French, for with these more strokes could be made. They felt that the two-handed sword was dangerous, and that few gauntlets could withstand the heavy strokes used. Nevertheless, they would allow this weapon to be chosen by those answering the challenge. It appears that this was in fact done, and that the English had a partiality for the weapon. In December the Admiral of France wrote to the Duke of Suffolk reminding him of their conversation with King Henry on a galleon at Greenwich, during which the King had demonstrated a special armlet and gauntlet for handling a heavy sword. King Francis, who had been sent a heavy sword, thought it not manageable, but he was told of the gauntlet and was to be sent one. In exchange he offered a special cuirass, if King Henry would send his measurements.<sup>2</sup>

The final rules for the combat were very precise. Sharp steel weapons were not to be used, because of accidents in the past, but arms suited for strength, agility, and pleasure in the pastime. The

<sup>1</sup> Randle Cotgrave, *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues*, London, 1611; Anglo, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 681, 685, 699, 749, 807, 870 (pp. 307-8); full text of No. 749 in H. Ellis, *Original letters illustrative of English history*, London 1824, i, 167 (No. 59); BN. MS. Français 5761, f. 30<sup>r</sup> (an unpublished letter of Bonnivet to Suffolk).

challengers would fight for a month, or as long as the Kings were together; they would answer all-comers with blunt lances, in harness (defensive equipment) with 'pieces of advantage' (see below), without any fastening to the saddle which would prevent ease of mounting and dismounting. The jousts would consist of eight courses, with medium lances, or greater if preferred, (the Tower of London armoury contains a lance of the Duke of Suffolk weighing 20 lb and measuring 14 ft 4 in. long), between the hours of 1 after dinner (lunchtime) and 6 o'clock. The one course in the open field (the tournament proper) would permit as many strokes as the 'comers' (those who took up the challenge, the challengers being the holders or 'tenans') demanded. Blunted weapons would be used: great lances and single-handed swords. Closing would not be allowed unless the 'comers' wanted it. The challengers would then encounter all-comers in the combat on foot at the barriers. They would use blunt casting lances and four strokes with blunt single-handed swords; and then as many strokes as the judges thought fit with double-handed swords, but closing would not be allowed. We may note the avoidance of closing and the general use of blunted weapons, described by a Venetian eye-witness as done by means of not very large 'buttons' affixed to the battlearms and spears. Harness with 'pieces of advantage' was defined as the wearing of no head piece except the armet, a type of helmet introduced in the fifteenth century: a globular cap with a hollow projection over the back of the neck, and in front a visor, beaver and gorget (the throat piece). Neither healm, demi-healm nor bassinet, other types of head-armour, were allowed. The heralds were to proclaim these rules at the meeting. Those answering the challenge, having touched the shield for the type of combat they wished to undertake, would give their names to the heralds, and inform them whether they wished to use great or medium lances. If a challenger were worsted in the field, he must give a golden token to his lady, and she to him if he won. All must fight in the order in which they had entered. Anyone disarmed so that he could not complete the course, must stand aloof for the rest of that day. Substitutes might be chosen for those ill or absent on their prince's orders. If a horse bolted, but yet ran the course, this should count; if it bolted it should have a fresh start. If a challenger struck or killed an opponent's horse, he should not fight again that day without the permission of the ladies. If he struck the saddle of an opponent, it should lose him two broken



lances (i.e. should count against his total of lances broken, on which the winners were assessed). Sundays and feastdays of the French and English churches should be days of rest from the combat.<sup>1</sup>

There was an elaborate method of 'scoring' when it came to assessing the prize-winners; the Bodleian manuscript which contains the English narrative of the 1520 contest, also gives rules for the awarding of prizes at royal jousts. Prizes were given, first, to any man who put his opponent out of the saddle or who put him 'to the earth' horse and man, next to anyone who met his foe 'crownall' to 'crownall' (the head of the lance) twice, next to one who struck the 'sight' (visor) three times, and then to him who had broken the most spears. A prize would also be given to him who abode longest in the field helmed, ran the fairest course, gave the greatest stroke and helped himself best with his spear. Prizes were not allowed to anyone who struck a horse, or who struck a man while his back was turned, or who hit the 'toyle' (the armour covering the front of the thigh) three times, or who unhelmed himself twice (except when his horse failed him). Strokes of various kinds were counted the equivalent of breaking spears: a stroke between saddle and charnell (the hinge of the helmet) equalled one spear, a stroke from the charnell upwards equalled two, to break a spear so that one put the opponent down or out of the saddle or disarmed him so that he could not compete again immediately equalled three spears. Whoever broke a spear on the face was disallowed for one spear, for two spears if he hit the 'toyle' once, for three spears if he hit it twice.<sup>2</sup>

With such rules, the role of the judges was crucial. In this contest they were: the Duke of Buckingham (according to one source only), the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Worcester, the Lord of St. John, and Sir Edward Poynings, for the English; M. Dorval, Governor of Champagne, Marshal la Palisse, and M. D'Aubigny, for the French. It is not known why Buckingham did not joust; perhaps at 42 he preferred to be a judge. There was a curious incident in 1517, when the Duke asked Wolsey to secure that he did not have to joust against King Henry; he wished to joust on the King's side, and not against him; he would rather 'go to Rome' than have to joust against the King's person. Another query is the part taken by M. D'Aubigny, for it is not

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 870 (pp. 307-8).

<sup>2</sup> Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 108v.

known how the English would have reacted to this eminent Scot's appointment as one of the judges. Robert Stuart, captain of the French King's Scots Guard of 100 archers, and of the Scottish men at arms (100 lances), and also Marshal of France, was of the Stuart family of Darnley, who had become Earls of Lennox. He had succeeded his cousin Bernard, a veteran in French service and famous for his campaigns in Italy, as Seigneur d'Aubigny (in Berry) and Captain of the Scots Guard. He himself had fought at Agnadello and Marignano. Like his countrymen in France, he was offered free naturalization in 1513; he inherited d'Aubigny and later the County of Beaumont-le-Roger, and lived at his chateau of La Verrerie near d'Aubigny when his official duties permitted. The Scots Guard, established in the time of Charles VII, took precedence among the royal guards, their Captain being the first Captain of the Guard. With their white surcoats, embroidered in silver and gilt, and (in King Francis's time) glistening with the royal salamander, their white plumed helmets, white banners, and grey chargers, they formed a distinctive and favoured élite in the royal retinue. It is not known how their Captain was received at the feat of arms, nor even whether his Scots Guard were present at this attempted *entente cordiale* between England and France. They are not mentioned specifically as present, and there would be some grounds for suggesting that they may have been left behind, Francis relying on his French and Swiss Guards. As for their Captain, it is worth noting that Bernard his cousin had in fact fought with the French contingent at Bosworth, and been highly favoured by Henry VII; on the other hand, Robert's elder brother, the Earl of Lennox, fell at Flodden Field in 1513.<sup>1</sup>

The feat of arms was to be well disciplined. There were appointed to order the 'field' two marshals, for England the Earl of Essex, with five assistants (Lord Abergavenny, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir William Sands, Sir John Hussey, and Sir Richard Sackville, one of them 'under-marshal'), and for the French most probably the Seigneur de Chatillon with a similar number. The English 'under-marshal' and the company were to keep guard outside of the 'field', and to see that strangers and vagabonds

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 89, quoting BM. MS. Cotton Titus B I f. 131<sup>r</sup>, the only source for Buckingham's appointment; *Rutland papers*, pp. 43-5; Montfaucon, IV, 191. For the 1517 incident, see LP, II, 2987. Lady Elizabeth Cust, *Some account of the Stuarts of Aubigny in France (1422-1672)*, London 1891, pp. 47-63; Anselme, VII, 142.

did not cross the ditch. Sir Henry Marny was to see to King Henry's lodging at the field, the Lord Steward and the Master Comptroller to his food and drink. The French arrangements are not known in detail.<sup>1</sup>

We know from the accounts of Sir Edward Guildford, Master of King Henry's Armoury, that extensive purchases of horses and weapons had been made. Much of his 1520 account deals with the 'triumph' or Anglo-French meeting, though some items cannot be assigned to it alone. However some of the horses purchased early in 1520 no doubt found their way to the royal meeting. Sir Edward had journeyed as far as Zeeland to see horses, and he or his officials visited the Hague, Brussels, Delft, Arras, Lille and other towns. We may note that the cost of a ferry at Grave-lines or Sluys, or of a fire in their lodging (6*d.*), exceeded that of a mass at Brussels (4*d.*). Among the purchases were a grey horse belonging to Pierre de Lannoy and given by the King to Sir Griffith Rice (head of the security force at Guines); a sorrel horse for the Queen's litter, and a black bald horse, bought at the Hague, and given by the King to the Duke of Suffolk. 'Antony Croham's boys' were however sent home to Brussels, having journeyed seventy miles to Calais with a horse 'to be seen upon liking', but which presumably was not liked.<sup>2</sup> For the jousts and tournament, however, the King's horses came from even further afield. It is possible that some were imperial gifts, for we know that the Emperor's great horses were sent by land from Spain through France to the Low Countries in February 1520, and that the imperial ambassador advised his master to present King Henry with horses for the tournament. They must be especially good, for the King already had a large number of fine ones.<sup>3</sup> If this was done, the horses would no doubt have been Italian, as were the tournament horses of both Kings, King Francis's from Mantua, King Henry's from the Kingdom of Naples. In 1514, Henry's representative Sir Thomas Cheyney had acquired at least ten horses for his royal master in the Neapolitan kingdom; he was then offered some of the famous breed from the Mantuan stud, the

<sup>1</sup> *Rutland papers*, pp. 43-5; *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 1115 (pp. 409-13). The English bought their brood mares in Flanders, see Andrew Boorde, *The fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, London 1870, p. 147. Perhaps this is the meaning behind the King's supposed reference to Anne of Cleves as a Flanders mare?

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), 551 (p. 189), 626, 728 (p. 256), 797, 869 (p. 305); Ellis, i, 168-9 (No. 60).

Marquis proposing to send them in the care of one of his own servants. It was a period when an understanding between England and Mantua was hoped for, and when Wolsey was offering to be father and guardian to the Marquis' son, should he come to England. In 1519, Cheyney brought a horse from the Duke of Ferrara to the King, and in 1520, the search for Italian horses was vigorous. In May 1520 ambassador Wingfield wrote that his fellow Parker had left for Calais with seven goodly coursers, the most esteemed in Italy, especially the one sent by Signor Fabrice (?). Their fellows, all their bounty considered, were not to be found on this side of the Alps; he had never seen horses who had been 'so farre led' to be in such plight and courage. They would be at Calais by May 20th. One of these may have been the bay courser from the stable of the Duke of Termini which the King rode to his first meeting with King Francis. In fact one Italian observer compared Henry's coursers unfavourably with those of King Francis: they were not so numerous, nor so fine. Whatever the truth behind this 'rivalry', King Henry's demands were certainly heavy. In 1519 Giustinian had written that the King would tire eight horses in a day's hunting; and the personnel of the stable, which included several Italian 'horsekeepers' no doubt redoubled their attention in preparation for the field at Guines. It was not only a question of choice mounts for the King, but also of suitable coursers to be presented to King Francis, for at the meeting the monarchs vied with one another in this expensive form of courtesy. The poet Barclay commented that such horses cost more than men, for princes could easily replace their human servants, but dogs and horses must be bought: 'More loue they horse or dogge than a man'. On one occasion during the meeting (Saturday, June 9th) King Francis rode to the lists on 'Dappled Duke' of the Mantuan stud. The mount was admired by King Henry, and the two monarchs changed horses, the exchange being a Neapolitan courser. At another meeting (June 18th) King Francis gave Henry six coursers, four of them from Mantua, and one the dappled 'Mozaurcha' mare, said to be worth all those given by King Henry in exchange. The English King immediately tried out three of them. On another occasion, the King coveted the courser ridden by the Duke of Bourbon, which could jump its own height; the Duke promptly gave it to the King, and it appears that Marshal Lescun made a similar presentation when the King admired his mount. Clearly, the horses were a centre of



rivalry and close comparison. Before the meeting of the Kings, Henry of England had ridden to the lists (June 6th) and tried out first one and then another of his horses, running one against another, laughing the whole time and being very merry. There were six coursers, probably those brought from Italy in May, trapped in crimson velvet covered with roses of beaten gold and with little bells. The King stayed upwards of two hours on this occasion. No doubt he enjoyed these trials and displays of horsemanship. At a tournament in 1517 the Venetian ambassador reported that the King performed 'supernatural feats', changing his horses, and making them 'fly rather than leap, to the delight and ecstasy of everyone'. In 1520 there were others, the Master of the Horse to Francis I for instance, who similarly disported themselves.<sup>1</sup>

There were large quantities of weapons to be procured and made ready. Officials journeyed to Flanders for 2,000 mornes (the rebated head of a tilting lance) of glazed steel, for burre (the ring on the lance just behind the plate for the hand) and vamplates (the plate on the lance which was the guard for the hand). 1,000 Milan swords were purchased for the tourneys, at 4s. each, 600 two-handed swords at 7s. 6d., 100 heavy swords for the tourney on horseback, these latter to be cut shorter and scaled. 500 other swords were shortened, and given new pommels and crosses. 3,600 rivets, 100 buckles, 600 feathers with springs, 40 velvet scabbards quartered in russet yellow and white, were among the purchases. There were also heavy swords with tangs of massy steel. From the armoury in the Tower, some 1,500 spear staves were selected. In April William Hayward the king's joiner was paid for making, garnishing and 'burring' with leather 800 spears. They had no doubt to be coloured in the royal colours; for we know that 'chasing spears' for the French were coloured white underneath black, and wreathed in tawny. Finally, a mill for the royal armoury was taken from Greenwich to Guines, with its mill horses; forges were also set up there. Altogether, the operation was expensive and complicated: the officials of the armoury had journeyed to Flanders, Zealand and Germany for

<sup>1</sup> Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-9; SPV, III, 50 (p. 27), 68, 73, 81, 90, 94; LP, III (i), 479, 1114 (p. 408); Rawdon Brown, ii, 102, 312; Barclay, *Eclogues*, p. 119; Guillaume de Marillac, 'Vie du connétable de Bourbon' in J. A. C. Buchon, *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France*, Paris 1836, XI, 169; BN. MS. Nouvelle Acquisition Française 11679, f. 478<sup>r</sup> (a similar but not identical text to that printed in Montfaucon, IV, 169).

their supplies. At the 'field' itself, two Master Armourers, one named 'Assamus', and twenty-four armourers watched over the English contingent.<sup>1</sup>

All these labours, certainly equalled on the French side, found their reward in the splendours of the feat of arms, which was inaugurated on Saturday, June 9th with due solemnity. After the marshals and knight scourers had cleared away unauthorized persons, the two Kings were to meet at 3 o'clock, each with sixty nobles, and sixty of their guard on horseback and armed with javelins [*sic*]. Twenty English and twenty French guards should hold the entrances to the field. Pages would bring in the royal horses, and the heralds should bear the royal shields, and set them up upon the Tree of Honour.<sup>2</sup> The Kings arrived with their retinues of 'nobles and young valiants'. On meeting, they lowered their spears; they then made their horses gallop, wheel and jump, in a display of horsemanship. Francis was mounted on 'Dappled Duke' from Mantua. The royal shields were borne around the lists, preceded by a procession of some thirty trumpets and the heralds of both nations. King Henry's arms were within a Garter, King Francis's within a collar of the order of St. Michael, with a closed crown and the fleur-de-lis on top. Apparently the use of the closed crown on Francis's shield caused offence in Germany, and there is a report that the use of this imperial crown by Francis on his shield at the jousts was objected to by the Germans. The royal shields were hung upon the Tree of Honour, after the inevitable dispute over precedence. This was decided in favour of King Francis, since the contest was on English ground; his shield was therefore hung on the right, but both were hung at an equal height. The shields of the fourteen other partners in the challenge were then hung up, and beneath them the three shields representing the three parts of the challenge, tilt, tourney, and combat at the barriers. Those answering the challenge touched these shields and gave their names to the heralds. On the English side, Clarencieux King of Arms and Lancaster Herald kept books for this purpose. The shields of those taking up the challenge, the 'venans' or 'comers' (sometimes also called 'answerers' in the English records), were then hung up on the railings around the mound or mountain on which the Tree of Honour stood. Either now, or the day

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 115 (pp. 409-13), 819; III (ii), p. 1555.

<sup>2</sup> *Rutland papers*, p. 43.

preceding, the counter-lists were removed at King Henry's request.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth remembering that the whole arrangement and umpiring of the contest would be undertaken by the heralds, in conjunction with the judges specially appointed. The officers of arms would check on all points of detail, such as the validity of arms borne by the contestants, their observance of the rules of the combat, and their performance in it. The English contingent was three Kings of Arms and fifteen heralds and pursuivants (see Appendix C), and we know of the French Kings of Arms, Mountjoy, Bretagne, and Normandie, no doubt accompanied by others in the royal service. Hall states that Garter and Mountjoy were placed (on 'stages') with the judges of the combat, to 'marke and wryte the dedes of noblemen'. We know that Clarencieux and Lancaster kept books of the names of the English combatants. It seems likely that the details of the contest, names of combatants, and numbers of lances splintered (as recorded in the French 'book' printed by Lescaille) may have been compiled by one of their heralds. Garter King of Arms had been instructed to compile a book of the coats of arms, devices and cognizances of the Kings and their attendants; it would have been an aid in the decorative compliments at feasts and solemnities, but a necessity in the ordering of feats of arms. The heralds might also write narrative accounts of such events; indeed, it is likely that the anonymous English narrative (Appendix C) may have been written by Suffolk Herald (Christopher Barker), herald to the King's brother-in-law, for the Duke's part in the combat is closely marked and praised. It should be remembered that private heralds would accompany their masters. Conservative practice had been that only kings, princes, and the great nobles (perhaps including barons of most ancient title) were permitted heralds, and that nobles must obtain royal sanction for such an appointment. Lesser nobles had pursuivants, usually named after some motto or device: these were the junior or probationer officers of arms, who might renounce their office, unlike the heralds, whose order, like that of priests, was held to be indelible. In the fifteenth century, it had

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 22); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 310); Hall, i, 201-2; Montfaucon, IV, 174. The ladies do not seem to have been present on this occasion, but probably at some time before the opening of the combat they would have inspected the helmets, banners and devices of the combatants in order to make recognition easier. This was a customary practice (J. Jusserand, *Les sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France*, Paris 1901, p. 80).

been said that every petty lord had his pursuivant; this was probably no longer true in the sixteenth, certainly there were fewer private heralds in England. In 1520 it seems likely that Suffolk would have taken his herald, and also Buckingham and Northumberland. The Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Worcester no doubt took their pursuivants, as also the Earl of Kildare. Worcester's pursuivant 'Esperance Herbert' reminds us of the use of family mottoes. No doubt the French contingent of private heralds and pursuivants matched that from England, for English and French practice in these matters was similar. Cardinal Wolsey may also have brought his herald, for his household included one.<sup>1</sup>

The scene was now set for the combat itself, an enterprise in which many took part. In the jousts 14 'bands' or companies took up the challenge issued by the two Kings and their 14 companions. Each 'band' varied in size, but 10, 11, or 12 was the most common, according to a French record which lists the bands appearing on each of the days of the challenge, and the numbers of lances broken. This list gives a total of 145 gentlemen in the 14 bands, which with the challengers (16) brings the total to 161. Allowing for some deputies, it seems likely that a Venetian estimate of 220 men at arms, the jousts in the challenge, is not too exaggerated. Florange himself gives 300.<sup>2</sup>

After banqueting on the Sunday (see Chapter VI) the two Kings and their company repaired to the field on Monday, June 11th, for the tilt. The scene was enlivened by the presence and first meeting of the two Queens, and a great number of most noble ladies, 'all vying with each other in beauty and ornamented apparel, and for the love of them each of the jousts endeavoured to display his valour and prowess, in order to find more favour with his sweetheart'. Catherine of Aragon, and her sister-in-law, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, were borne in litters or chairs, sumptuously embroidered. Catherine's litter was crimson satin embroidered in gold in relief; it was open, with small gilt columns, like a triumphal car. No doubt the Queen's emblem, the pomegranate of Granada, so often to be seen on royal buildings, hangings, and vestments of the

<sup>1</sup> General account in *Complete Peerage*, XI, Appendix C. For fifteenth century pursuivants see Sicily herald (writing for Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily in the mid-fifteenth century) quoted *ibid.*, pp. 41-2. See also J. G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435, A study in medieval diplomacy*, Oxford 1955, p. 105. Buckingham's herald in 1520 was William Hasyng (*Complete Peerage*, XI, Appendix C, p. 59).

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 182-91; SPV, III, 60 (p. 40); Florange, i, 271.



period, was displayed on this occasion. The emblem was so well known that Skelton calls the Queen 'that peerless pomegranate'. As to her dress, we know no details. Her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Suffolk, had a cloth of gold litter, wrought with lilies, with the two letters L and M joined together, with porcupines (the emblem of her late husband, Louis XII). Clearly, Mary was using the state of regality. We do not know whether she went so far as to wear the 'Mirror of Naples', a famous diamond given her by King Louis, and claimed as part of the Crown jewels by his successor. The Duke of Suffolk, sent to France to urge Mary's right to retain the jewels given her by Louis, had despatched this diamond by Richmond Herald to England, as a first instalment to quieten Mary's royal brother. It became a subject of intense argument between the two courts; and it was said by Francis that his queen had a mind, and the right, to wear it. Whether the jewel ever recrossed the channel is not known. Perhaps, if Mary still had it, she did not offend by wearing it. The ladies of the royal retinue came in three wagons, decked with cloth of gold, cloth of gold on crimson, and cloth of gold on azure. Others rode richly caparisoned palfries, no doubt side-saddle (a custom which Camden suggests was introduced into England by Richard II's Queen, Anne of Bohemia). Their fashions in dress were probably influenced by the French, for Polydore Vergil remarks sourly that they adopted a new garb 'from many most wanton creatures in the company of the French ladies' which 'on my oath, was singularly unfit for the chaste'. A few years later, the Frenchman was represented as a leader of fashion:

I am full of new inuencions  
And daily I do make new toyes and fashions;  
Al nacions of me example do take,  
Whan any garment they go about to make<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, Claude of France arrived in cloth of silver, with an undergarment of cloth of gold, and a necklace of precious stones. Her cloth of silver litter was decked with gold knots. Perhaps it was the same used on her entry into Paris in 1517, when she had a

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 202; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 101<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C); SPV, III, 80, 84, 85; Montfaucon, IV, 174. For the Mirror of Naples LP, II (i), p. XXX, 343, Appendix 7. For riding side-saddle W. Camden, *Remains concerning Britain*, London 1870, p. 214. For dress, Polydore Vergil, p. 269; Andrewwe Boorde, *The fyrst Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, London 1870, p. 190.

cloth of silver litter, enriched with 'cordelieres' (friar's knots) of cloth of gold. It had no covering overhead, so that she could be seen, and there was a cloth of gold seat (*carreau*). It was drawn by two 'roussins' (the heavy horses used in war or as draught horses) ridden by two pages of honour.<sup>1</sup> In 1520, many French ladies came with the Queen. Some travelled in three wagons, covered like the royal litter with cloth of silver. The Queen Mother came in a litter of black velvet; her ladies wore crimson velvet, their sleeves lined with cloth of gold, a fashion remarked for its beauty. The great ladies of France, the Duchesses of Alençon, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Longueville,<sup>2</sup> were in the company. The French Queen, like her husband, was given precedence, for the lists were on English soil. Having saluted one another the Queens took their places in the gallery, which was hung with tapestries. The tapestry of the Queen of England, called 'Hughes Dike' and covered in pearls, was much admired. In fact, the Hampton Court painting shows a rich tapestry hung over the railings in front of the Queens.

The ladies' efforts at conversation were evidently not always successful, for one account mentions that they could not understand one another, and had to use interpreters ('truchements'; 'trucheman', or dragoman). However, this may not have been universally true: Queen Catherine could speak French (she spoke it, for instance, to the legate in the tragic discussions on her divorce), and no doubt so could other ladies of the court, certainly Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, and possibly some of the ladies who had been with her in France (Lady Anne and Lady Elizabeth Grey, who attended in 1520). In 1527, at a masque for the French ambassadors, some of the lady maskers spoke 'good French' to the delight of the visitors. There is no reason to suppose that this did not happen in 1520. One most likely interpreter on the French side may well have been the young Anne Boleyn, daughter of the late ambassador to France, Sir Thomas Boleyn, and in attendance on Queen Claude at this time. It may be that Anne, who had

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 202; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 101<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C); SPV, III, 80, 84, 85; Montfaucon, IV, 174. For the 1517 entry T. Godefroy, *Le ceremonial de France*, Paris 1649, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanne de Hochberg (Bade Hochberg) heiress to Rothelin and Neuchâtel. In 1520 she was a widow. Her husband Louis d'Orleans, Duke of Longueville, was the grandson of the Count of Dunois, who campaigned with Joan of Arc and was himself the natural son of Louis Duke of Orleans (who died in 1407) (Anselme, I, 217).

crossed to France in the retinue of Mary Tudor in 1514, and whose proficiency in courtly arts, particularly music and dancing, was already remarked (she played lute, harp, flute and rebec and invented many new steps in dancing), was present on this occasion. By this time she would have been about 19, and it may be that her dark but striking beauty was noticed by Henry of England. We have no evidence, but inevitably speculation is rife. Michelet sees the first meeting as fraught with significance.<sup>1</sup>

Inevitably, comparisons were made between the two companies of ladies at Guines. A Venetian observer, perhaps more inclined to southern beauty, states that the English ladies were well dressed but ugly, while a Mantuan writes that Queen Catherine's ladies were neither very handsome nor graceful. It was probably partly a matter of colouring and preference. Polydore Vergil, whose castigations of new English fashions have just been quoted, elsewhere wrote of English women 'Theire woomen are of excelent beutie, in whitenes not mucche inferior to snowe, somewhat beautified with the decencie of there apparell'. No doubt, as with the horses, no two observers could agree on relative merit. What is certain is that the unfortunate English contingent on this occasion earned still worse criticism. There were about forty of them, and they were seen drinking freely and without ceremony. One took a large flask of wine, put it to her lips and drank freely; she then passed it to her companions, who did likewise. Not content with this, they also drank out of large cups, which circulated more than twenty times, during the joust, amongst the French lords and English ladies. This is an Italian comment, and one is reminded that both Erasmus, and a Venetian writer of 1500, made especial note of the English custom of sharing the same drinking cup among several people. It was perhaps this fashion as much as the scale of consumption which shocked the onlookers in 1520.<sup>2</sup>

So the ladies amused themselves. Their Kings, 'armed at all

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 202; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 101v; SPV, III, 80 (p. 61), 84 (pp. 67, 69); Montfaucon, IV, 174. For the language problem: Hall, ii, 148; Cavendish, p. 76. A manual was written for Mary Tudor (the future Queen) by Giles Du Guez or Duwes, *An introductorie for to lerne to rede, to pronounce, and to speake Frenche trewly*, London (?1532). Another was J. Palsgrave's *L'esclarissement de la Langue Francaise*, London 1530.

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 24), 81 (pp. 63-4); Polydore Vergil's *English history from an early translation*, ed. Henry Ellis, London 1846 (Camden Society), p. 25; *A relation or rather a true account of the Island of England, . . . about the year 1500*, trans. C. A. Sneyd, London 1847 (Camden Society), p. 21, and p. 122, note 1.

pieces' and on horseback, had already entered the lists with their partners, presenting themselves before the ladies on whose behalf they fought, and doing them reverence. To study the costume of the royal champions, is to enter a realm of pure fantasy, in which even the spectators were sometimes bewildered. The trappings of the horses, and the costumes which their riders wore over their armour, evoked a whole world of symbolism and allegory, some well known, some confusing to the onlookers, who struggled to decipher the mottoes and texts which would reveal the meaning, and which were usually embroidered round the borders, and thus constantly moving as the combatants rode past. From the English accounts, it is clear that King Henry and the seven English challengers wore identical costumes (and that sometimes these were worn on two days of the contest). It may be assumed that King Francis and the seven French challengers also disported themselves in identical costumes so that each day the sixteen challengers were clad in two sets of costumes. Their opponents, the several 'bands' who answered the challenge, likewise wore costumes based on a single theme. There was thus scope for endless symbolic comment and interpretation, with devices, colours, mottoes, all used to explain a central idea. No wonder, as one historian has commented, that the courtly punsters found their wits worn out before the close of the ceremonies. The whole system became a joke in Elizabethan times, if not before, when a contemporary novelist lampooned the elaborate symbolism of the jousting costume, as for instance 'the knight of the Owle, whose armor was a stubd tree overgrowne with ivie, his helmet fashioned lyke an owle sitting on top of this ivie, on his bases were wrought all kinde of birdes as on the grounde wondering about him; the word *Ideo mirum quia monstrum* [Wonderful because a monster], his horses furniture was framed like a carte, scattering whole sheaves of corne amongst hogs, the word, *Liberalitas liberalitate perit* [Liberality is ruined by liberality]. On his shield a Bee intangled in sheepes wool, the mot, *Fronti nulla fides* [Have no trust in appearances; a version of Juvenal, Satires II, line 8].' This was the kind of thing to which the court turned for amusement, and which understandably confused some of the onlookers, and may well confuse historians who rely on them. Nevertheless, it seems worth attempting to disentangle some of these amusements.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nashe, 'The unfortunate traveller' in *Shorter novels: Elizabethan*,



On this first day, King Francis and his partners wore costumes which told the first part of a story in three sections. The King's well trained chestnut courser was barded (the bard was the covering for breast and flanks, often ornamental, and of material, not metal, in tournaments) in purple satin, broched (pierced or slashed) with gold, and embroidered with black ravens' feathers enhanced with gold. Hall tells us that a raven in French was corbyn (corbin), and that the first syllable 'cor' stood for heart (coeur). The feathers signified (by onomatopoeia) 'peine' or 'pain' (penne was the French word for the wing or tail feather), and the buckles *fastening* the feathers stood for 'sothfastness' or truthfulness. The whole costume therefore signified 'heart fastened in pain endless' (the rest of the story followed on the successive days). One observer notes the words *de vous peut-être* embroidered on the King's costume. Francis and his partners wore sleeves on their head pieces, presumably tokens of their ladies. The King of England and his seven companions likewise had a series of costumes: the royal accounts mention bards with clouds (worn on 11th and 12th), with eglantines (worn on 13th and 14th), with 'oundes' or waves (worn on the 15th and 19th), with basils (worn on 20th) and with mountains (worn on 21st). These costumes tally in detail, but not in dates, with the narrative eyewitness account given by Hall. According to him, the 'waves' were worn on this first day of the joust. He writes that King Henry's bay horse had trappings of cloth of gold, enhanced with waves of 'water work', every wave wrought and friezed with damask gold. The background was russet velvet, and the waves were attached with 'points' of gold. This was held to signify the mastery of the narrow seas, the Channel, and all the King's partners, both men and horses, were similarly garbed. King Henry was attended by Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse, Sir John Pechie, deputy of Calais, Sir Edward Guildford, Master of the Armoury, and by a M. Moret of France, all in the royal livery, white on the right side, gold and russet on the left. In all, six knights, twenty squires, and officers to the number of 122, attended the King, the gentlemen in velvet liveries, the others in satin. King Francis's attendants wore purple satin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 202-3; SPV, III, 50(24); LP, III (ii), pp. 1554-6 (the original of

The two Kings were now drawn up for the tilt. It should be emphasized that, since they and their partners were the authors of the challenge, they never jousted nor took part in any of the combats, *against* each other. In this way, no doubt, much dangerous rivalry was avoided, as we shall see when we come to the unofficial wrestling match of the monarchs. On this first day of the jousts, the royal challengers were met by the Duke of Alençon and ten of his band, and then by Admiral Bonnivet's band of twelve. Their mounts and costumes are variously described. Alençon's may have worn silver tissue, or white and black velvet; the decorations were golden scrolls and (illegible) black letters. The Admiral's band are stated to have worn costumes half of murray velvet, half of gold and silver tissue in chequers, with plumes of the same colours; or (in Hall) russet satin, broched with gold, white and purple satin. The whole was decked with anchors, and, again, an illegible motto. Evidently the meaning of these costumes was lost on the spectators, save that the anchors of the Admiral would have been seen to challenge appropriately King Henry's waves of the narrow seas. The jousting, single combat, may have been only five courses each on this day (so Hall), for it seems that the prescribed eight were not always run. The joust was begun by the King of France, who is said to have done valiantly, breaking spears mightily and shivering them like reeds. While an Italian account mentions that King Henry tilted little, having sprained his hand, Hall has him smite one opponent, M. de Grandville (Charles de Vendôme, Seigneur de Gravelle in Normandy) so that the charnell (hinge) of his helmet was broken and he could run no more.<sup>1</sup> Another English account mentions that King Henry broke a lance on nearly every course. The Dukes of Suffolk and Vendôme are commended by Hall, but he gives the palm to the two Kings, who were allowed to 'run' again after all had completed their courses. No doubt patriotism and personal bias played their part, with confused recollection, in the accounts of what precisely happened on any one day. In fact, there is no record of broken lances under this day in the French 'book' of the contest. An Italian observer tactfully stated that there was little difference between the Kings

<sup>1</sup> Anselme, VII, 730, 900. Maternal grandson of Louis de Malet Admiral of France (Anselme, VII, 865), he was killed at the battle of Bicocca in 1522.

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these accounts is in PRO E 36/217, f. 161, which has been checked for the details quoted).

in stature, beauty and address in jousting, but that Francis appeared taller, and Henry the handsomer in face and more feminine, a compliment the English King would no doubt have felt to be double-edged. At the end of the day it began to rain, and the contest was concluded about 7 o'clock, the heralds shouting 'disarmy' and the trumpets sounding the company 'to lodging'. After disarming, the two Kings went to the ladies and amused themselves in their company.<sup>1</sup>

From Tuesday, June 12th, the exact sequence of the jousts is difficult to follow. It seems that we must take as authoritative the French 'book' with its record of each day's contest, which gives the names of the contestants, and the number of lances broken,<sup>2</sup> for this latter item makes it clear that the evidence is not merely a programme planned ahead, and not necessarily adhered to. On the other hand, the invaluable detail as to costumes and individual incidents, which is contained in Hall and in some Italian accounts, cannot be reconciled as to actual dating with this French record. Individual eyewitnesses may have confused the actual day's events, but the fact that each of the opposing 'bands' only jousted on one day of the challenge makes it possible to collate the evidence. For instance, the bands of the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Edmund Howard, who jousted against the Kings on Saturday, June 16th, are down as jousting on Thursday, 'June 13th' (correctly the 14th) in Hall, who has no jousting for Saturday. One can relate Hall's account of these two 'bands' to the events of Saturday given in the precise French account of the contest. With such reservations we may continue our attempt to reconstruct the progress of the contest.

On Tuesday, June 12th, the two Kings took no part in the joust, neither did they on the next Friday or the following Monday. They in fact jousted on the opening day, on the next Thursday and Saturday, and on the closing day, the Tuesday following. On June 12th the Count of Guise and his band of ten took up the challenge. Hall, who writes of 'M. de Suuyes', describes the costumes as of velvet, full of friar's knots (like those on the belts worn by the friars), in silver. A Venetian, noting the rebated

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 202-3; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 101<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C); SPV, III, 50 (p. 24), 80 (pp. 61-2), 84 (pp. 67-8); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 311); Montfaucon, IV, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 182-91 (a copy of the French 'book' 'L'ordonnance et ordre du tournoy ioustes et combat a pied et a cheval', printed in Paris 1520, and preserved in the BM. and BN.).

weapons, remarks that the contestants hit seldom, and from the French record, it appears that in fact on one broke more than three lances on this day.<sup>1</sup> On Wednesday, June 13th, the Kings went to the camp but did not joust, for the high wind prevented it. There were games, wrestling, dancing and other entertainments, and the Queen Mother of France was present, attended by a great company of lords, ladies and gentlemen. On this day, there was a wrestling contest, the English royal guard wrestling against the Bretons, the most famous wrestlers in France. An English eyewitness describes wrestling on the Tuesday, at which one Englishman gave a Breton a great fall, and on Wednesday, when two Breton priests were 'cast' by two of the royal guard, and two of the greatest wrestlers in France were 'cast' by two of the guard of the Earl of Devonshire. In 1532, at the meeting of the two Kings, 'The French King had none but preests that wrastled which were bigge men and stronge'. Evidently King Francis did not observe the strict injunctions of the Canon Law; firstly, priests were forbidden to take part or attend duels, tournaments, wrestling bouts and other sports in which there could be fear of bloodshed; secondly, they were forbidden to take part, in public, in sports for which they had to strip to their shirts.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the prohibition was disregarded at the royal command, but if Breton priests were usually called upon, a good degree of expertise is implied and thus a fairly lax attitude to the Canons.

Another incident was a royal wrestling match, on which the English records are silent, but which is mentioned by Florange, an eyewitness, in his memoirs. He states that in a pavilion where the two Kings were drinking, Henry asked to wrestle with Francis. The French King, who was a strong and clever wrestler, gave Henry a 'tour de Bretagne', throwing him on to the ground in a marvellous 'fall': 'luy donne ung tour de Bretagne, et le jette par terre et luy donne ung merueilleux sault'. It seems clear that the 'tour de Bretagne' was some special trick of the game; in England,

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 204; Montfaucon, IV, 183.

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 24), 82 (p. 64); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 311); Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 101<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C). For the wrestling priests see 'The maner of the tryumphe at Caleys and Bulleyn' (a pamphlet preserved in the British Museum, and printed A. Hamy, *Entrevue de François I avec Henry VIII à Boulogne sur mer en 1532*, Paris 1898, p. 7. For the Canon Law see L. Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'église*, Paris 1681, III, 688-9, 693 (Ars IV. Lib. IV. cap. XIII). The York provinciale of 1518 had dealt with attendance at tournaments, wrestling bouts etc. (*The York provinciale put forth by Thomas Wolsey (1518)*, ed. R. M. Woolley, London 1931, p. 25).



Cornish and Devon wrestlers were reckoned the best (like their Breton relations) and there was a feat known as the 'Cornish hug'. In wrestling a 'fall' was scored when the opponents' back, or one shoulder and the contrary heel, touched the ground. It seems that the fall-giver was exempted from wrestling again with him who received it. Evidently Henry was thrown in no uncertain fashion; when he asked to try his luck again, the contest was not continued. Michelet, the great French historian, saw this incident as fatally significant: 'petit, fatal évènement qui eut d'incalculables conséquences'. He suggested that Henry, already worsted by Francis with the ladies, and having fought too hard at the tournament, had won only in the archery. In the wrestling, thought Michelet, Francis forgot to be diplomatic, thought only of excelling before the ladies, and proudly threw Henry to the ground, a small incident with incalculable consequences, from which Henry remained bitter and heavy-hearted. Whether in fact this 'tour de Bretagne' bulked so large in Anglo-French relations is unknown. Certainly Henry had triumphed in the archery, a very English skill. Twenty four of his guard had been commanded to shoot before the King of France, and Henry himself, a marvellously good archer and a strong, himself took part.<sup>1</sup>

On Thursday, June 14th, the jousts recommenced. The usual reverence was made to the Queens, Queen Catherine wearing a head-dress in the Spanish fashion, with her tress of hair down over her shoulders and gown. She wore cloth of gold, and the most beautiful jewels and pearls. On this day the French King continued his story of the heart in pain. He and his partners were in purple satin, broched with gold and purple velvet, and embroidered with little rolls of white satin on which were written the words 'quando', the costumes scattered with letter Ls. The meaning was 'quando' (when) 'elle' (the Ls stood for 'elle'), and hence 'when she', so that the theme so far was 'heart fastened in pain endless when she . . .'. The King of England riding a light grey Neapolitan courser, was apparelled in a costume decked with lozenges of russet velvet and cloth of silver. In every lozenge there was a golden branch of the eglantine or sweet briar, perhaps appearing for the rose of England. Hall explains that the eglantine is sweet, pleasant and green, if it

<sup>1</sup> Florange, i, 272; J. Michelet, *Histoire de France au seizième siècle*, VIII, *Réforme*, Paris 1874, pp. 108-9; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 101<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C). For English wrestling, see Joseph Strutt, *The sports and pastimes of the people of England*, ed. J. C. Cox, London 1801, pp. 69-71; J. Aspin, *Ancient customs, sports and pastimes of the English*, London 1835, pp. 205-6.

be kindly and friendly handled, but that if it be rudely dealt with it will prick, and whoever will pluck up the whole tree by the hand, will be hurt. There is no reason to doubt this, and it may be that Henry intended to show the sweet reasonableness of England if properly treated. The trappings of the King and his companions were embroidered with eglantines, hands, true lover's knots, and the initials H and K. The King wore a woman's sleeve in his head-piece, instead of a plume. Francis rode the Neapolitan courser presented to him by King Henry, but it is said not to have done him good service. The Kings and their partners were jousting first against the band of M. de la Trémouille (ten in number), who wore yellow velvet decked with friar's knots in black. One of this band broke six lances, the highest total for the day. Next came the band of M. de Lescun, nine in number, in black brocade and black velvet, slashed in chequers. They had sleeves or capes hanging from their shoulders, a fashion praised for its strangeness. M. de Lescun made his horse 'curtsey' twice before the Queens, and then went round the lists showing this trick. As usual, the Kings are said to have excelled at the joust, but one eyewitness records that all did very ill because of the wind, and that an infinity of spears was lost. From the English accounts we know that there were other losses: half the trapper of the Marquis of Dorset, and the base of the trappers of Suffolk, Kingston, and Jermingham.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, June 15th, the Kings did not joust, neither were the Queens present; the Kings amused themselves either on horseback or with the ladies, of whom many were at the field, during the contest. In this, the first band was the Duke of Vendôme's with ten men, and then the Marquis of Saluzzo, with ten, in white and black satin broched with gold and silver with 'cuts and culpynes' (small pieces of cloth) of tawny and black. The Marquis, Michele Antonio, whose lands were encircled by Provence and Savoy, is the only Italian noble at the meeting (if we except San Severino, who was by now French). Apparently he jousted very well, all the others on this day tilting badly, on account of the wind. The Marquis, however, shivered six lances 'de droit fil' (straight through). This is the official score: another account would have him shivering seven and touching an eighth, so far no one having excelled him.<sup>2</sup> On this day, the English King's challengers may

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 204-5; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 24-5), 84, 85; LP, III (i), 870 (p. 311); III (ii), pp. 1554-6; Montfaucon, IV, 183-4.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 205-6; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 25-6), 90 (p. 71); Montfaucon, IV, 175,

have worn the costumes with waves (if the accounts are correct in this detail).

On Saturday, when Hall states that there was no jousting, we know that in fact the contest continued, the two Kings again taking part. No doubt Hall's description of costumes on Friday, when the Kings were not jousting, should relate to Saturday. If so, then King Henry wore a costume half cloth of silver, half cloth of gold, the borders decked with letters in fine gold and ciphers, and set with 'great and oriental' pearls. The lettering on the border read 'God willing my realm and I may . . .', though what was here promised or threatened, is not disclosed. The King's base and bard, 2,000 oz of gold true weight, was decked with 1,100 pearls (so one eyewitness states) of inestimable price, some of which were lost in the contest. King Francis meanwhile continued the story of his heart. His apparel and bard were of purple velvet, embroidered fully with little books, in white satin. In each book was written 'a me', and about the borders was a blue chain, resembling a well or prison chain. The significance was 'libera me' (deliver me; the book – liber – plus the inscription – a me), and the chain signified 'bonds'. The whole story was therefore 'heart fastened in pain endless/when she/delivereth me not of bonds'. So Hall, though he could not be certain. Michelet confuses the issue here by taking 'Libera me' to refer to the prayer after a Requiem Mass 'Libera me Domine de morte aeterna'. He surmises that the superstitious were appalled to see this, and the King's use of the black raven feathers on an earlier occasion. It seems probable, however, that no such reference to the Requiem was intended. It is no accident that Michelet was known to his students as M. Symbole.<sup>1</sup>

The 'comers' on this day were first the Earl of Devonshire and his band of thirteen. The Earl was cousin to the King, and in his band was another royal cousin, Lord Montague. All wore costumes of great intricacy. On one side, of blue velvet, there was embroidered a man's heart burning in a lady's hand, her [other] hand holding a garden pot or watering can, which watered the heart. The other side was of white satin, and it was probably on this side

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 207; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C); SPV, III, 90 (p. 71); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 311); III (ii), 1554-6; Montfaucon, IV, 185-6.

183-5; LP, III (i), 870 (p. 311). For the Marquis see Du Bellay, i, 176. He had fought at Agnadello.

that the motto was inscribed in letters of gold, 'pour reveiller' (to awake). The Earl and King Francis rode against one another, so hard that the spears broke. King Henry rode against M. de Montmorency (François de Montmorency, younger brother of Anne) and never devisored nor breathed until he had run his five courses and 'delivered' his opponent. Another account mentions eight courses run by the Earl and King Francis, and adds that the Earl broke not only lances, but the French King's nose. An Italian corroborates this, saying that Francis was injured, but in the temple and the eye, either from a spear, or from his horse's head-piece, which was loose and hit him on mounting. He was seen in front of the Queens with a black eye and a black patch. The next comers were Lord Edmund Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk, and his band of eleven. They were in crimson velvet covered with golden flames, the borders of the costumes ribbed with the velvet. One of the comers on this day had a spectacular costume. It was covered with Greek letter Bs, encircled with a pen, on whose quill was written 'eterna' (eternal). This may have been a play on the word *vita* (since the Greek word 'beta' would have been pronounced *vita*) and thus have meant *vita eterna* (eternal life)? Another costume had embroidery representing white feathers, severed in the centre, and with the 'motto' 'votre merci'. It seems that the feather standing for pain had again made its appearance. On this day King Francis rode against Lord Edmund, both breaking their staves, and King Henry against Ralph Broke, shattering his spear. The score of broken lances for the day was King Henry eighteen, King Francis fourteen, the Count of Guise seven, the Duke of Suffolk six, the highest score in one course being six (the Kings and Suffolk). King Francis had ridden the 'Mantellino' which carried him for twelve courses (the royal combatants were often accorded more than the prescribed eight, and usual five), but then commenced swerving, since there were no counter-lists. The King thereupon changed his mount.<sup>1</sup>

On Monday, the Kings did not joust, but the contest continued despite the weather: Hall writes 'there blewe such stormes of wind and wether that marvaille was to hear, for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes'. The comers were first, M. de Florange and his band of twelve, in crimson, tawny and plunket (grey) velvet, embroidered on the borders with shepherd's hooks in cloth of

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 207-8; SPV, III, 50 (p. 25); Montfaucon, IV, 185-6.



silver. Two of the band broke six lances each, the highest score for the day. Hall has King Henry jousting on the day of this challenge (but dates it the Friday before): 'Then began the rushyng of speres, the kynge of England this day ranne so freshly and so many courses that one of his best coursers was dead that nyght.' We know that Henry often pressed too hard. Even if the dating of the entry is incorrect, it corroborates Hall's earlier comment on a joust of 1511: 'every man feared, lest some yll chaunce might happen to the kyng, and fayne would have had him a loker on rather than a doer, and spake therof as much as thei durst: but his courage was so noble that he would ever be at the one end'. The whole subject is best described in Mattingly's words: 'Sheathed extravagantly in German or Italian plate armour more cunningly jointed than a lobster's mail, fluted and braced and inlaid with gold, he would thunder down the lists on a magnificent stallion, the Duke of Mantua's gift, plumes flying, a very god of battles. One hears the splinter of lances and the roars of applause from the long, packed tribunes as some courtier acknowledged the superior prowess of his king. It was amazing good fun.' Such no doubt was often the case in 1520. On this particular day, two more bands challenged the Kings, or perhaps only their 'aids', the band of M. de Rambures (Jean III Sire de Rambures) and of M. de Piennes (Antoine de Halluin, a relation by marriage of Florange). The first band (four in addition to the leader) were in white satin embroidered in black; the second (five in addition to the leader) were in black, decked with silver drops. During the jousts, the Kings amused themselves on horseback, and with the ladies. It was on this occasion that King Francis presented six coursers to the English King (cf. p. 119). They were put through their paces by San Severino, Master of the Horse. King Henry was delighted, and essayed three of them immediately. The heralds then cried 'a l'ostel', and all went home.<sup>1</sup>

On Tuesday, the last day of the jousts, the Kings again took part. King Henry may have worn again the 'waves' costume, so the accounts intimate. King Francis had ended his story, and this day wore a white and purple costume, on which one observer

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 30, 207-10; SPV, III, 50 (p. 27), 90 (p. 72); Montfaucon, IV, 187. Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, London 1963, p. 100. For Rambures see Anselme, VIII, 67-8. His wife came of the De la Marche family and was a second cousin of the Seigneur de Florange. For Piennes see Florange, ii, 238.

distinguished the words 'Cosi l'orso sera' (thus will the bear be).<sup>1</sup> The first band to challenge was that of M. de Bonnival, clothed in black velvet and cloth of gold 'billet wise' (probably with strips of cloth of gold on the velvet) and wearing plumes. To end the jousts came the band of the Constable, the Duke of Bourbon, who were to close this and the other contests. They were thirteen in number, but Bourbon himself was not with them. It is not known why this great military figure took no part in the joust. His band wore white, tawny, and black velvet, with plumes of the same colours. King Henry appears as spurring his horse and running so fiercely against his opponent that his stroke broke the opponents' grave guard. Thus ended the 'justes royall'. One Englishman (perhaps in Suffolk's service) tells us 'the saying of the peple was that the duke of Suffolk had donne best that daie and many other daies before, and would have done more as they should have knowen right well yf his hand had not bine hurt by misfortune'. Suffolk may have excelled, but in hard scoring he had not won the palm. The highest total, of six lances broken in one course, as given in the French record, was achieved by both the Kings, the Marquis of Saluzzo, Francis Brian, Jacques de la Chapelle (in La Trémouille's band), and two Frenchmen in the band of the Seigneur de Florange. There is no list of broken lances for the opening or closing day, and 327 lances in all are recorded as shattered. Suffolk himself appears with four lances as his highest score. There are long lists of prize-winners, headed by the two Kings, Dorset, Suffolk, S. Pol among the challengers, and at least one from each of the opposing bands. The ceremony of prize-giving took place in the evening (see Chapter VI).<sup>2</sup>

It was now the time for the tournament, or tourneys: the group combat, in the open field, at which the challengers faced their opponents, two by two, and not singly, as in the jousts. On Wednesday, June 20th, King Francis appeared in purple satin, broched (embroidered) with gold and purple velvet and bordered with garlands of friar's knots in white satin. In every garland were fifty-three pansies, which Hall interprets as meaning 'Think on Francis', although he adds that none knew who was thus invoked (no doubt, the lady in whose honour the King was fighting?). A royal costume described by one observer is probably assigned to

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 27).

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 210-11; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 102<sup>r</sup> (Appendix C); SPV, III, 50 (p. 27); Montfaucon, IV, 188-9.

this day in error, but may have been worn during the challenge. It was cloth of silver, embroidered with silver clouds, shaded in murray silk, and with the motto 'tamquam nubes igne crepans' (like a cloud roaring with fire). On this day King Henry was mounted on a courser of Naples. The bard and the King's apparel was, on one side, of stiff brocade embroidered and lined with cloth of silver, and on the other russet velvet powdered with gold. Hall tells us that on this side was embroidered a great rock or mountain with an armed knight on a courser riding up it. Out of a cloud came a lady's hand, which struck him a deadly wound with an arrow. The borders bore the motto 'in love whoso mounteth passeth in peril'. King Henry had, for the first time it seems, passed from national symbols and boastings to those of chivalry. Even so, a Venetian interpreted this costume as St. George, with his dragon and maiden in distress, red hearts transfixed by a dart, with a hand in the act of launching an arrow. It must have seemed likely that Henry would sport a representation of St. George; however, the royal accounts make it clear that Hall's version of the costume is correct.

The Kings did reverence to the Queens on entering the lists. The heralds, headed by Garter and Mountjoy Kings of Arms, were there to write down the deeds of the noblemen. The heralds then brought in the several bands: the Duke of Alençon with ten, the Lord Admiral with twelve, a M. Gwyer (thus Hall) with nine, M. de la Trémouille with eleven, M. Liskes (Lescun) with eleven, and the Marquis of Salons (Saluzzo) with twelve. About fifty contestants, as given in one estimate, therefore seems fairly accurate. We are told that the two Kings rode forth valiantly against their opponents, the first joint contest in this royal challenge. The French King lost his plume in the first encounter, each man fighting five courses and the Kings entering again for a second turn when the others had finished. M. de Lescun gave his mount to the King of England, who had admired it, and promptly rode it in his second 'battle'. The Master of the French Horse (San Severino) gave a display on a Spanish jennet (a small Spanish horse) covered and trapped with gold brocade, and with special stirrups and saddle. Armed as a light horseman, he ran a course with a 'thick spear', and repeated the feat, which was much admired. He offered that anyone might try to imitate him, but there were no comers. It seems that such 'virtuoso' displays of horsemanship were often part of a feat of arms. In 1517, for instance, at

a tournament for the imperial ambassadors, a Venetian report describes how 'between the courses, the King, and the pages, and other cavaliers, performed marvellous feats, mounted on magnificent horses, which they made jump and execute other acts of horsemanship, under the windows where the most serene Queen of England and the Dowager of France were, with all the rest of the beauteous and sumptuously appparelled ladies.'<sup>1</sup>

On Thursday 21st, the Queens came again to the field, and the tourneys continued. The French King was again in purple broched satin, and purple velvet, as was his hand. Their surcoats of brocade, striped and trimmed with black velvet, had small squares embroidered in silver on the border and shaded with black silk, each square inscribed with a latin letter, and joined together with a silver lacet. The letters, which were very elegant, together spelt out the word 'reciproce' (reciprocally). The King of England and his band were in cloth of silver of damask, with gold letters in damask on the borders. On the bards and apparel were little mountains, springing with branches of the basil, all in gold, their leaves and stalks loose and wavering so that the cloth of silver could be seen beneath. An Italian thought they were olive branches, but Hall was doubtless better instructed on the royal costume. The wording on the borders is given as 'breake not these swete herbes of the riche mounte, doute for damage' (i.e. fear for hurt if you do). We know that the mountain was used in pageants and dramatic entertainments to represent a country, and the motto may have been a plea for England, or a threat. It is just possible that the basil was used because the word would have an imperial connotation, for English rulers, in various contexts, were wont to remind the world that England was an empire, held of God alone. On the other hand, the basil had a long history of other associations; to the Greeks it was a symbol of hatred, to be sown with cursing and railing, to the Italians, and still to many Mediterranean peoples, it had romantic associations.<sup>2</sup>

The first encounter on this day was with the Earl of Devonshire and his band, again two for two. Then M. de Florange and his band, then M. de Rambures, then M. de Bonnival, and lastly the Duke of Bourbon's. King Francis encountered the Earl, and King Henry M. de Florange, whom he drove back and disarmed,

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 211-12; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 27-8); Rawdon Brown, i, 101-2.

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 213; SPV, III, 50 (p. 28). For the basil, see R. Folkard, *Plant lore, legends and lyrics*, London 1884, pp. 244-7.



breaking his pouldron (the piece of armour covering the shoulders). 'Then on went swordes, doune went visers, ther was litle abidinge' says Hall. A Venetian goes even further, stating that the Kings showed greater valour and courage than the rest. They shattered plate armour, corselets, and swords, making the steel weapons strike sparks and fire in the air, in a fashion worthy of eternal record. Holinshed's version of these events has, as chapter heading, the (so far) unidentified Latin tag '*Hastae stridentis fractae petit aethera cuspis*' (the point of the hissing, broken, spear seeks the sky). On this fiery note, the tourneys ended; the Kings riding round the field 'as honour required' and the heralds crying '*la fin des tournayes*'. The costumes of the English challengers had been a prey to admiration. From the royal accounts we learn that the Frenchmen pulled off the basils, and that they were worn by the French and English courts. This plundering of costume was not uncommon, and may have been encouraged. In 1510 King Henry had allowed the Spanish ambassadors to have the devices from his trapper, made of 'docket' gold (i.e., fine gold, like a ducat), and in 1511 letters (H's and K's) from his 'disguising' costume were given away. In 1514 he and the Duke of Suffolk gave their tournament costumes (one a white hermit's, the other a black) to the ladies as largesse.<sup>1</sup>

The final part of the challenge was the combat on foot at the barriers. A barrier was set up, about three feet high, and with two cross bars, one at either end. The barrier was within a stockade, and allowed space for about ten couples of men. For this combat, King Henry had provided a hall or pavilion where the challengers could arm themselves. It was embroidered with blue clouds, from which the sun rose, and the valence was embroidered in blue with the royal motto '*Dieu et mon droit*'. The Queens watched the contest, at which the contestants took part, two by two, as the lot fell. They fought first with punchion spears, i.e. spears with sharp points, but which had in fact been rebated for the contest. When the spears were broken, the combatants cudgelled each other with the stumps, giving heavy two-handed blows and then hurling the fragments at one another. They then thrust with their arms, as if the spears were still there. Next came combat with swords,

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 213-4; SPV, III, 50 (p. 28). For the pillaging of costumes Hall, i, 18, 27, 120. In 1513 the Christmas revels ended with a pageant or stage setting of a mountain covered with broom, on which the King and five others stood, and from within which six ladies came forth to dance (Hall, i, 57).

'fierce and desperate' strokes. Hall describes the two Kings and their opponents as fighting so hard that fire sprang from their armour. There was finally combat with two-handed swords, to which the English were particularly addicted, and which Francis had attempted vainly to exclude. The challenge, like the tourneys, was ended by the Kings in partnership: 'there was good fight and pastime on both parties as well englishmen as frenchmen'.<sup>1</sup> The next day there was more fighting at the barriers, after the morning's great solemnity, the mass sung by Cardinal Wolsey in a chapel on the field, and the great banquet. The combat on foot had seen all the 'comers' delivered by the challengers; in all there were 106 comers, according to one estimate.<sup>2</sup> No doubt the ladies had acted as spur and challenge to these 'warlike deeds'. A contemporary carol enshrines the accepted convention:

My soverayne Lorde for my poure sake  
Six courses at the ryng dyd make:  
Of which four tymes he dyd it take:  
Wherfor my hart I hym bequest,  
And of all other for to love best  
My soverayne lorde . . .

There is another verse on the Lord's hardy feats with spear and sword 'at the barryoure'. The carol was probably written to be sung on behalf of Queen Catherine, and may indeed have been included in the tournament music on this occasion. It was for three voices, and the music was by William Cornish, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, who was present at the meeting.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 213-4; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 28-9); Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 311) (thrusting and casting lances and then two handed swords).

<sup>2</sup> Hall, i, 215; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 28-9).

<sup>3</sup> J. Stevens, *Music and poetry in the early Tudor court*, London 1961, pp. 241, 405-6. Verse 4 has a regal context.

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## *Feasts and Solemnities*

There is no doubt that the meeting was both a festival and a gastronomic marathon, even by contemporary standards. The banquets, masques, dancing, were the indoor counterpart, and complement, of the outdoor feats of arms, and linked to them by the ceremony of prize-giving. For these indoor festivities, as for the material exercises, vast and expensive preparations had been under way for some weeks before the actual meeting.

For such an occasion, the amounts and varieties of food and drink compel astonishment, for the courts of both Kings, and the households of many of their nobles and courtiers, were centres of entertainment on a scale which has become proverbial. Thomas Starkey, with his moralist's severity, points to a universal sickness; but perhaps he was not far off the mark when he wrote 'there was never so grete festyng and banketting wyth so many and diverse kyndes of metys as ther ys now in our days commonly used and specyally in mean mennys houses . . . gentlemen now feast as did princes and lords . . . The glotony of England and they idul gamys be so smal occasyon of al adultery, robbery and other myschefe . . . For yf the nobyllys, ye, and many of theyr seruautys, be not appayrayld in sylkys and veluettys, they thynke they lake much of theyr honowre; and if they haue not at dyner and souper xx dyschys of dyverse metys, they lake they chefe poynt that perteynyth to theyr honowre . . . For thys excesse in dyat bryngyth in manyfold sykenes and much misery, lyke as they pompos apparayle doth induce much poverty. Thes are thyngys as clere to al men as the lyght of

day'.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, another near contemporary wrote that Englishmen must have meat:

Owre Engliche nature cannot lyve by Rooatis [roots]  
by water, herbys or suche beggerye baggage,  
thay maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis [coots]:  
geeue Engliche men meate afte their olde vsage,  
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage;  
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande:  
they shall defende this owre noble Englande<sup>2</sup>

It was possible to control the 'conspicuous waste' in noble households only by the sharpest surveillance. The Earl of Northumberland's household regulations of 1512 kept a tight watch over every item. Bread, beer, and vinegar to be made at home, the beer stronger in summer to prevent its turning sour. Herbs should never be bought. Many items were only for the Lord's table: lamb at its dearest, capons, and even then only on Great Feastdays; plovers, mallards, cranes, pheasants. Twenty swan a year were allowed for these solemnities, and the number of deer also regulated; great birds should only be bought when they dropped to four a penny, and small when they could be had for twelve a penny. The caterer should check prices charged by the suppliers, who often overcharged; there were to be contracts for milk and eggs by the year, and for sea fish. In any case too much sea and fresh water fish was not to be bought. In this way, the Earl no doubt hoped to avoid financial embarrassment.<sup>3</sup> Others were not so wary, or had not the talent for economy. Whatever the normal routine, an occasion such as the royal meeting compelled extravagance on the widest scale.

On the English side we know the preparations in some detail. There was wholesale ransacking of markets and sources of supply, in England, France and the Low Countries; Edward Hall writes that 'Forestes, Parkes, felde, salt seas, Ryvers, Moates, and Pondes, wer serched and sought through countreies for the delicacie of viandes, wel was that man rewarded that could bring any

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Starkey, 'A dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford', ed. J. M. Cowper in *England in the reign of King Henry the Eighth*, EETS, London 1871, pp. 130, 172.

<sup>2</sup> William Forrest, 'The pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise', in *England in the reign of King Henry the Eighth*, *ubi supra*, p. xcvi.

<sup>3</sup> *The regulations and establishment of the household of Henry Algernon Percy, the 5th earl of Northumberland*, 1512, London 1770, pp. 102, 108, 182, 185, 198, 396-7, 425-6.



thinge of likinge or pleasure'.<sup>1</sup> We have the accounts for this provisioning; they relate, however, to a period of forty-eight days (covering the period from May 31st when the King crossed to Calais, to July 18th when he returned home: five days in Calais, twenty days at Guines – the period of the Anglo-French meeting, fifteen days at Calais thereafter, one day's visit to the Emperor at Gravelines, four days entertainment of the Emperor at Calais, and three days there after his departure). This means that, in time, just under half of the period covered would relate to the Field of Cloth of Gold, yet in expenditure this meeting would certainly eclipse any other item, either the imperial visit which was on a much smaller scale or the twenty-three days when the court was on its own at Calais.

Before examining the actual expenditure, it may be interesting to quote from an 'estymacion of the Kinges dietts and the Queenes, with other nobles', for one month at Calais and Guines, presumably the period for which the meeting was originally planned. This estimate (preserved in the papers of the Duke of Rutland) is for a total of £7,409 13s. 4d. (when a rebate of £233 6s. 8d. had been allowed, for the sale of hides, fells and tallow from 'beefes and muttons'). There was an estimate of 700 quarters of wheat, at 12s. a quarter, 160 tuns of French and Gascon wine at 110s. (with costs and charges), 6 butts of sweet wine at 90s., 4 pipes of hippocras at £1 each, 560 tuns of beer at 20s. (for these drinks see below, page 146). The estimate continued with 340 beef at 40s., 2,200 muttons at 5s., 800 veals at 5s., 80 hogs at 8s., and £300 worth of fish, salt and fresh. £440 worth of spices was allowed for, £300 worth of diapers (napkins or towels) and linen cloths, £20 worth of wax, £26 13s. 4d. for white lights (candles), £1,300 for poultry 'all maner sorts that can be gotten'. £300 was allowed for pewter vessels, £200 for brazen pans, spits and necessaries, £40 for rushes, £280 for 6,600 quarters of coal, £200 for tallwood and billets (wood for fuel), £200 expenses in the stable, £240 for the cost of purveying and buying in provisions, £73 6s. 8d. for the small craft which would convey victuals, and £130 for conveying the same from Calais to Guines. Wages were to be £50 for hiring cooks at 20d. a day; there were to be 12 pastry cooks at the same wage, 12 brewers at 12d. a day and 12 bakers at the same.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Rutland papers*, pp. 41–2. The expenses under French wines and muttons appear to be incorrectly given in the manuscript. The total expense is £5 in error, if the figures given of price and quantity are accurate.

This estimate provoked lamentations at Calais, where Sir John Pechie the Deputy insisted on the scarcity of meat and of fuel, even for the normal needs of the court. But it seems that all these difficulties were magnificently if laboriously overcome. The actual expenditure, for the longer period during which the court was overseas, is known to us from the accounts preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> They begin with moneys received for the sale of supplies and by-products: hides, tallow, white (lard?) for bake-meats, salt, wine, beer, and oxen. Then payments out are listed under the departments of the household concerned. The Bake-house (*Pistrinum*), run by a sergeant and six others, had bought 811 quarters of wheat and 2 bushels of wheat, at prices varying from 6s. 8d. to 11s. 11d. a quarter, and totalling £381 6s. 7d. This was, as might be expected, in excess of the month's estimate, and officials had journeyed far and wide to find it. One purveyor, Thomas Hungerford, went from London to Calais, thence to St. Omer, and to see the Regent of the Netherlands (Margaret of Austria) about wheat. He had with him 'a man to speak the language'. Hungerford also travelled from Calais to England, to Chichester, Henley, and Reading, on the same errand. Other purchases were lengths of canvas, both for the pastry, and for the bread carts. A regal entry is 'To Thomas Tayllor, cream for the king's cakes, 20s. 10d.'

The Pantry account included payment for 200 pippins (dry, sweet apples), for strawberries and junkets bought at Guines, and the wages of the bread-bearer. The Buttery account shows the facts behind the Italian stories of hard drinking by the English, and not least by their ladies. There was need of large consignments: choice wines for the banquets, more ordinary stuff for the household and retinues, and no doubt for the fountains of the 'palace' at Guines which ran wine for all. The total purchases were not quite the 3,000 butts of one Italian estimate, but they are sufficiently impressive, and tormenting to read. It should be recalled that a tun of wine equalled 252 old wine gallons, or 210 imperial gallons (654 litres), and that there were 4 hogsheads to the tun (each 63 old wine gallons or 52½ imperial gallons), and 2 butts to the tun. The purchases were 8 butts of sweet wine (costing £31 in all);

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 919, pp. 331-7. Original in PRO S.P. 1/20 which has been checked for all details quoted. The details of personnel in the various departments are taken from the list of officials scheduled to attend the meeting (LP, III (i), 704 (p. 244)).

2 of 'Malvesey' (Malmsey) at £4, 1 of 'Romeyne' (Romeyn) at 53s. 4d., 3 of Muscadel at 100s., 20 of 'Camplett' at 53s. 4d., and 15 vats (an uncertain measure) of Rhenish wine costing £6 8s. each. 98 tuns of Gascon wine were bought at prices from £4 to £4 13s. 4d. a tun. 77 tuns of 'French' wine cost 72s. 7d. to 100s. a tun.

Of these wines, whose selection proves the contemporary predilection for sweet wine, the favourite Malmsey (malvoisie in French) took its name from Monemvasia in the Morea. Malvasia grapes were grown, by this time, primarily in Crete, but Malmsey was the name of wine not only from this island, but from Greece and the Greek Archipelago (also, the growth of this vine spread westwards, so that by this period it was produced in Spain, the Azores, the Canaries and Madeira). Romeyn, which took its name from Romania (Rum) the European part of the Eastern empire, was also a sweet wine from Greece and the Ionian islands. It was treated with burnt lime or gypsum (like sack). 'Camplett' seems to have been introduced during the later fifteenth century. Cotgrave, the lexicographer, states that it took its name from Campole, the name of a white grape 'which hath very white kernels'; it appears as Campolet in a contemporary treatise. Muscadel (or muscadine) took its name from the muscat grape, and was a rich, sweet wine, grown in the central and eastern mediterranean. These were the wines which Andrew Boorde, a near contemporary, did not advise drinking with meat (for which 'mean wine' of France, Gascony or the Rhine was suited), 'but after mete, and with oysters, with saledes, with fruyte, a draught or two may be suffered'. Such wines, as Boorde and others have noted, made a man fat. They became the predilection of the English, and soon the moralists got to work, though for once in their favour. In the seventeenth century James Howell would argue that French wine pickled meat in the stomach, but Canary wine (then the sweet wine in most favour) made good blood, good blood caused good humours, good humours caused good thoughts, and good thoughts brought forth good works, which carry a man to heaven 'ergo, good wine carrieth a man to heaven'. In 1532 the price of such invaluable liquor (Malmsey, Romeyn and other sweet wines) was fixed at 12d. a gallon retail. The Rhenish wine of 1520 may well have come from Hochheim or Bacharach (the centre of the wine trade and an assembly point) although it was a general term for wine from west Germany (the Rheingau, Rheinhessen, Palatinate, Franconia, Alsace and even

Mosel), much of it white wine.<sup>1</sup> Of the French wine, except that it was distinguished from Gascon, the most popular and most widely used, we have no details. It seems clear that already the English had a reputation for the extensive variety of wine served at their tables: 'all the kyngdomes of the worlde haue not so many sondry kyndes of wyne, as be in Englande and yet there is nothyng to make wyne of' wrote Andrew Boorde. No doubt, the most rare selection was made available at Guines, where the English would be on their mettle (at Calais the next year Chancellor Duprat was to complain of the poor quality of wine). Yet even at such a meeting one may suppose a contrast between the choice wines for the guests of honour, and those for the ordinary courtiers. Barclay, enlarging on Aeneas Sylvius, wrote of the delicate wines for the prince:

Whose smell and odour so swete and marvelous  
With fragrant sauour inbaumeth all the house,  
As Muscadell, Caprike, Romney, and Maluesy,  
From Gene brought, from Greece or Hungary.

and in contrast (for the small fry at court),

sometime is the wine soure, watery and so bad,  
That onely the colour might make a man be mad,  
Colde without measure or hote as horse pis,  
Bad is the colour the sauour badder is.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the wines, there was large consumption of Hippocras or Ypocras, especially between courses, at the end of the meal, and at lighter refreshments or 'banquets'. This drink was spiced wine, made by straining the liquid and spices through a

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Henderson, *The history of ancient and modern wines*, London 1824; *Early English meals and manners*; John Russell's *Boke of nurture* . . ., ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, London 1868, pp. 153, 174 et seq; Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Helth* ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, London 1870, pp. 254-5; James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae. Familiar letters domestic and foreign*, 11th ed. London 1754, p. 366 (Book II, liv). See also a recent compendium William Younger, *Gods, men and wine*, London 1966 (section on medieval wine). From the time of Edward IV England had demanded that the Venetians bring in 10 bowstaves with every tun of merchandise, and later, and specifically, with every tun of wine (Malmsey or 'Tyre'). Wolsey attempted to revive this regulation, which had lapsed, and which the Venetians felt was now obsolete, and Giustinian's despatches are full of references to the vexations which this would cause (Rawdon Brown, ii, 183-5).

<sup>2</sup> Boorde, loc. cit., p. 75; Barclay, *Eclogues*, pp. 75-6.



succession of bags or sleeves (the 'sleeve of Hippocrates' from which it took its name). The spices needed for a 'lord's' hippocras were ginger, cinnamon (brittle and fair in colour), graines (graines of Paradise, somewhat like cardamom), sugar, and turnesol or heliotrope (for the colouring). The wine and these 'spices' were passed through a succession of bags or 'sleeves', sometimes three times, sometimes six times, the bags having basins underneath them, the first a gallon basin, the others a 'pottle' or half gallon. Hippocras for the commonalty could be made with ginger, cinnamon, long pepper (from the immature fruit spikes of *piper officinarum* and *piper longum*, related to *piper nigrum*) and honey. Clearly, it was a method of using up less good or stale wine. Hippocras had been a favourite drink of the Paris students in the days of Villon, who wrote of their carousing on it 'by day and night'. It was a warming and inflaming beverage. In 1520, the 'brew' was made for King Henry by one Edward Portalen.<sup>1</sup>

As would be expected, there was also need for ale and beer in quantity. Ale, 49 tuns, was bought at 39s. 3d. a tun, and beer, 20 tuns, cost 20s., save for one tun at 32s. for the King's drinking. Malt, oats and hops (the latter at 9s. the hundred) were procured at 'Medleway' for brewing on the spot. The chief brewer earned 10d. a day, the under brewer 8d., and others 6d. The estimate for a month's 'dietts' had included 540 tuns of beer. We know that beer was preferred at least a month old (eight days was the minimum period before it was considered fit to drink). There were some types of beer which were kept longer; beer for the tables of the nobility is mentioned as one or two years' old. Ale could be served after five days, according to one contemporary recommendation. The flavouring with hops, which at this time distinguished beer from ale, had recently come into use; ale was made simply of malt and water. A royal ordinance of 1548 enjoined brewers that they 'brew good and seasonable stuff without weevell or fustiness, and that they put neither Hoppes nor Brimstone in their Ale in the pipes, so that it may be found good, wholesome and perfect stuff, and worth the King's money'. At about the same date, Andrew Boorde wrote of ale as the Englishman's natural drink. It must be fresh and clear; 'it must not be ropy nor smoky'; 'it must have no weft nor tayle', and should not be drunk under five days' old. Barley malt

<sup>1</sup> *Early English meals and manners*, pp. 9-12, 53 (the first a mid-fifteenth century, the second an early sixteenth century recipe).

made the best. The drink engendered gross humours, but made a man strong.<sup>1</sup>

The total expenditure on drink in 1520 was large, £1,568 1s. 11¾d. in all, including carriage of wines, as for instance from Guines to the lists, where no doubt frequent replenishments were needed. Nevertheless, remembering the fountains running with wine, and the lavish hospitality, it does not seem that the estimate (£1,357 for the projected month) had been greatly exceeded.

Overseeing the whole operation, and with fourteen working under him, was Roger Mynors, Sergeant of the Cellar, a trusted official. He had been Sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1513/14, he was knighted in 1527, and sat in Parliament in 1529 as Knight of the Shire for Derbyshire. His family home, Treago in Herefordshire, held by his father of the Earl of Shrewsbury, is still in the possession of the family, the present Sir Roger now owning it.<sup>2</sup>

The Wardrobe had a slightly smaller account, covering a wide variety of purchases. White wax at 12d. and 14d. a pound, 'polen' wax (thought to be Polish wax, used for candles) at £4 the 100 (presumably the 100 candles), and torch staves. Windsor Herald is paid for 'subtleties' at 14d. a pound. These were the highly ornamental devices, wholly of sugar, or sometimes strengthened with wax, used for table decorations. They might be eaten, or be purely decorative; the sugar was coloured and worked into intricate figures and scenes. There might be heraldic beasts (as the salamanders, leopards and ermines on the table at one French banquet for Henry VIII in 1520), or they might be legendary or allegorical figures illustrating the theme of the feast. Sylvan and hunting scenes might be created, or a church interior (as at the enthronement of Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1505). John Russell, writing in the lifetime of his master, Humphrey of Gloucester, mentions subtleties for each course for a 'dinner of flesh': Mary and Gabriel, the Angel appearing to the Shepherds,

<sup>1</sup> For beer and ale: *Early English meals and manners*, p. 12; Boorde, loc. cit., p. 256; Aspin, op. cit., pp. 60-1; *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household made in diverse reigns* (Society of Antiquaries), London 1790, p. 218 (hereafter referred to as Household Ordinances); *Archeologia*, III, 154-7.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to Sir Roger and Sir Humphrey Mynors, who have kindly lent me Sir Humphrey's paper on 'The Mynors of Treago, Co. Hereford, A genealogy' (privately printed). For references to the Sir Roger of 1520, see LP, III (i), 405 (No. 81), 704 (p. 244), 1081 (p. 397), III (ii) 3504, 3495 (No. 14).

the 'Three Kings before Mary, or for a 'dinner of fish' a gallant young man 'Sanguineus', a man of war 'Estas' (summer), a man with a sickle 'Autumpnus', and winter with grey locks, for the fourth or fruit course. In 1527, Wolsey's banquet to the French ambassadors at Hampton Court was decked with above a hundred subtleties and devices at the second course alone: a castle, St. Paul's church and steeple (as well counterfeited as if painted on cloth or wall), beasts, birds, fowls, personages (some fighting, some vaulting, some dancing, some jousting with spears). Most remarkable was a chessboard 'subtilly made of spiced plate [sweetmeats] wt [with] men to the same And for the good proporcyon bycause that frenche men be very experte in that play my lord [Wolsey] gave the same to a gentelman of fraunce commaundyng that a Case shold be made for the same in all hast to preserue it from perysshying in the conveyance therof in to hys Contrie'.<sup>1</sup> We do not know what subtleties were made in 1520, but they no doubt included representations of the royal beasts, as did those on the tables at the French banquets. The Wardrobe accounts show that Windsor Herald had some thirty-nine boxes to hold the English confections. There were other, more mundane, items in the account, for transporting loads of the royal beds and clothing (above page 65). In all, £1,514 14s. 8d. was expended.

The coquina (Kitchen) was provided with enormous quantities of meat and fish. John James of Antwerp provided two fresh sturgeons (78s. 8d.). William Wolverston, the king's sea fisher, is paid for 5 dories, 48 mullets, 21 basses, 30 turbot, 9,100 plaice, 7,836 whiting, 6 halibuts, 700 conger eels, 488 cod, 5,554 soles, 1 dolphin, 300 bream, 1,890 mackerel, 3 porpoises, 11 haddock, 3 crabs and a lobster, 4 trout, 2,800 crayfish, 1 fresh sturgeon, and 3 fresh salmon, an English delicacy specially noted by Polydore Vergil. The Mayor of Dover was paid for the carriage of venison from the parks of England. My Lord Arundel was asked for venison. It was obtained from Walden Park in Essex, Hithe, Boughton Park, Arundel, Eltham, Leeds, Donemowe, and Bradfield. Of these, Walden (Essex), Leeds and Eltham (Kent) were royal residences. Arundel (Sussex) was the seat of the Earl of Arundel, Boughton Park (Boughton Malherbe in Kent) was the seat of Sir Edward Wootton, Bradfield may have been the

<sup>1</sup> For the Neville Feast, see *Ioannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, London 1774, VI, 5. For John Russell see *Early English meals and manners*, pp. 48-53. For the 1527 banquet, Cavendish, p. 71.

Essex Bradfield (then held by the Rainsford family), Donemowe is presumably Dunmow (Essex) then held by Lord Ferrers. Hithe may be Hythe in Kent. Two salted bucks ('powdered' venison) were sent in addition and 36 venison pasties.

Spices and colouring materials included blue bice, white lead, green arabic, vermilion, vinegar, 14 sticks of sugar candy, yellow ochre, and half a pound of 'dragon's blood' (the resin from the dragon tree, *dracaena draco*) at 5s. 4d. Mincing, dressing, and lashing knives were needed, and 69 moulds. Labourers in the larder, boiling house, and scalding house toiled for 4d. a day. 4,000 wafers were bought for the subtleties, a St. George (presumably a statue) 16 cognizances on glass of the King's Arms, and some vanes (a metal plate, in the form of a flag or banner) of the King's Arms. In all, £541 os. 8d. was spent.

The purchasing department, the Accatry or Emptoria, under its sergeant and 15 officials, bought large consignments of meat. 373 oxen at 29s. 10½d. each, 2,014 muttons at 3s. 7d., 852 veals (from 2s. 4d. to 3s. 8d. each), 18 'hogs of grease' (specially fattened), 51 pigs, 16 lambs, 101 flitches of bacon. There were further consignments of fish: flounders, roach (3,300), shallows (rudd), carp, roasting eels, crabs, lobster and ling. Edmund Longthorn was paid 26s. 8d. for 140 'faill bones' bought at Guines for a banquet (presumably bones used for tenderizing the meats). Bay salt was also bought. The total purchases (Emptoria) came to £1,553 13s.

The Poultry (pulletria) lists a similar variety of purchase. 360 capons of grease (fat capons) at 2s. 4d., 901 less succulent ones at 12d., 82 pheasants at 2s., 2,445 quail at 4s. a dozen and 558 at 2s. 2d. a dozen, 506 geese at 7d. (perhaps the green geese of which Wolsey was so fond, and which Polydore notes as a dainty banqueting dish, if served before they had cast their down feathers). There were 2 peacocks at 5s. 4d., 199 gulls at 16d., 92 cygnets at 5s., 381 pigeons at 10d. a dozen and a further 252 at about the same price, 140 mews (gulls) at 10d., 632 heron at 2s., 65 shovellers at 2s., 78 storks at 3s., 86 bitterns at 2s., 113 'brewes' at 20d. and less (perhaps the snipe, perhaps the whimbrel or half-curlew), 11 egrets (the cryal or criell: lesser white heron) at 21d. 30,700 eggs were bought at 12d. a 100, while butter, 214 pounds, was 2d. a pound, and a further 195 'dishes of butter' cost 30s. 9,300 pippins, 5,500 oranges (£4 10s.), 200 lemons (2s. 8d.), 16 pounds of capers (5s.), olives and 34 gallons of oil were bought.



Further consignments of poultry and game included 492 hens (£6 16s. 10d.), 331 pullets (£3 2s. 2½d.), 403 rabbits (£6 14s. 4d.) and another 1,644 at 2s. 6d. the dozen, 118 conies ('rabbit' was then used of the young, and 'cony' of the full grown animal) (39s. 4d.), and 12 kid (12s.). 12 cheese, 432½ gallons of cream (£14 8s. 4d.), 946 gallons of curd, 562 gallons of milk (£7 or. 7½d.) were also bought. By comparison with these amounts, 2 bushels of peas and 6 bunches of onions look very insignificant. There had been a good deal of journeying to obtain the supplies. One John Copeland had ridden into Flanders for poultry, and into the 'vale', the scene of the meeting, for rabbits. Water for the poultry and cages for the quails, reminds us that the birds were kept alive until needed. The commotion and noise in the kitchen need hardly be mentioned. In all, the Poultry account came to £1,374 5s. 10d., which compared favourably with the month's estimate of £1,300.

The Scullery (scutilleria) account lists the dishes and vessels which such banquets required. Pewter vessels were paid for by the hundredweight; there was 10,654 pound weight. Glasses for the subtleties were 3½d. each; there were 2 great coal baskets, skimmers, ladles, 2 dozen great bowls, 2 dozen bowls for serving Hippocras. There were trays, coal shovels, drinking bowls, and 2 great bread graters. A great kettle to boil beef was hired for six weeks. Pots, pans, spits and other items of equipment were hired from the cooks of London (£17 7s. 8d.), and John ap Rice fetched pewter vessels from the same city. Total expenditure was £377 11s. The Spicery (salsaria) bought a hogshead of white vinegar and a mustard querne (mill). Total expenditure £22 4s. 3d. For the Hall and Chamber tallwood and billets were bought at 4s. 9d. the 10,000, and rushes at 16d. a dozen. 691,400 tallwood and billets in all: the total expenditure was £252 18s. 3½d. For the Stables, there was hay, oats, and garbage (presumably in the modern sense), a total of £575 13s. 3½d. At the end come the items of hay and oats left over and sold. There is also a special entry of payment of £612 to Mr. Carter for the 'diets' of the Lord Cardinal at £12 a day, from 26th May to 17th July. In spite of his wealth, the Cardinal was evidently at least in part reimbursed for his daily food. He was on a royal mission, and therefore could claim his expenses like any other servant of the Crown. It is, however, hardly an ordinary diplomatic expense account. We have already seen the fastidious demands of the Cardinal on this subject. The

total expenditure came to £8,839 2s. 4d. (as against the estimate of £7,409 13s. 4d.).

It is not difficult to envisage the sumptuous but overwhelming proportions of banquets created from these raw ingredients. It had been planned that there should be a 'solempne honourable and triumphant Banket' for which 'all maner of dentries with subtilties, conseyts, confections and devises of cooks must be prepared'. In fact there were several such occasions. The type of meal, usually of three courses, but each course a meal in itself, with many dishes, is illustrated by a specimen menu for the three chief 'messes' of the King's household at this meeting. The first course included soup (much favoured in England, according to one contemporary), boiled capon, cygnets, 'carpett' of venison, pike, heron, pear pies, custard, fritters; the second soup, capon, brewes, wren, sturgeon, peacock, pigeons, quails, apples, baked venison, tarts and fritters; the third, soup, storks, pheasants, egrets, chicken, gulls, 'hagges of almayn' (a dish, presumably of German origin, of pieces of bone marrow fried in spiced batter), breams, oranges, fritters (seemingly much in demand).<sup>1</sup>

In the absence of a bill of fare for the royal banquets, we may turn to recipes. Peacock, that favourite centre piece of royal menus, was probably still cooked in the classical medieval fashion. This was to take the bird, break his neck and cut his throat, and flay him, removing the skin, feathers and head all in one. The body was then roasted and allowed to cool. The bird was then made to sit, as when alive, and covered with his own skin and plumage—'serve him forthe as if he were alive'. This is the 'pecok in hakills ryally' (peacock in hackles royally) commanded for royal feasts, and served for instance at the wedding banquet of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in 1487 (at the second course). Swan would usually be served in 'chawdon' sauce, made with liver, entrails and blood, some bread, wine, vinegar, pepper, cloves and ginger. Sturgeon, turbot or porpoise would be baked in pieces covered with a batter of flour, pepper, ginger, cinnamon and salt, or sturgeon might be boiled and served cold with parsley leaves in vinegar and a vinegar sauce. Porpoise, on the other hand, was often simply roasted on coals. Oysters might be served in gravy, or with chive ('chevy') sauce, as was hare. A sample of the elaborate recipes is *Leche Lombard*: cooked pork, pounded in a

<sup>1</sup> *Archeologia*, XXI, pp. 182-3 (original in PRO.S.P.1/19); *Rutland papers*, pp. 47-8.

mortar with raw eggs and then boiled in a bladder with raisins, currants, chopped dates, pepper, and 'gylofre' (clove). It was then cut in pieces (lech or leche was a slice or strip), and served with a sauce of large raisins, red wine and milk of almonds, flavoured with cinnamon and ginger. 'Chewettes' were a popular dish: small pieces of chopped up liver of pigs, hens, and capons, fried in grease, mixed with hard eggs and ginger, then put in small 'coffyns' or pastry cases, and fried or baked. There was a fish variant for fish days.

Such recipes were elaborate, and to our taste, strongly flavoured and sauced, but the difficulties of preserving food must be remembered; it was not merely a question of culinary whims, but of conserving, and preventing the ingredients going bad. The important item was therefore the sauce, and many details of endless variety fill the contemporary 'cookery books'. A mustard sauce was commended for brawn, beef, salted mutton, and bacon. Verjuice (a sauce made from the juice of unripe grapes) was to be used with boiled capons and chicken, veal and bacon. Garlic, mustard, pepper, and vinegar made the sauce for roast beef and goose, ribs of beef; ginger sauce was for lambs, kids, fawns, pork; mustard and sugar sauce went with pheasant, partridge and rabbit (cony); 'gamelyn' or cameline of raisins, nuts, bread, cloves, ginger with vinegar for 'heronsewe' (young heron), egret, crane, plover, bustard, bittern; sugar and salt with river water for brew and curlew; salt and cinnamon for woodcock, lapwing, martin, lark, sparrow, thrush and venison. Green sauce of herbs, bread, vinegar, pepper and ginger was for fresh (green) fish, ling, turbot. An amusing comment on English habits is that the mustard sauce should be made in quantity, and not put away, for 'with every dische he is dewest who lust to assay' (it may be taken with every dish by any who wish to try it). It is commended for herring, salt fish, salt eel, salmon. Plaice, on the other hand, is to be served with wine sauce. By 1520 a new sauce may have been 'Gelofre' (not mentioned by John Russell), made with the clove gillyflower, and served with beef. Another favourite 'Pegylle' or 'Pykulle' (pickle) was served with roasts, and made from the gravy of roast capon, wine, mustard, and small shredded onions which had been fried in fat. It was rich and satisfying, as the recipe indicates; Piers of Fulham (perhaps writing in the fifteenth century) considered that a mallard of the dunghill was good enough if served with it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Two fifteenth century cookery books*, ed. T. Austin, EETS, London 1888,

We may suppose some differences between the English and French cuisine of the period although, then as now, ceremonial banquets probably had many ingredients in common. There was the same enormous bill of fare, the same variety, the same stress on display. The French banquets, also, may still have reflected medieval traditions, but since the time of the Italian wars more foreign influences were felt, and new dishes can be traced. If the traditional roasts were giving way to more sophisticated 'ragouts' and more delicate stuffings, there were also some novelties. A comparison of the fare mentioned by Taillevent, chef to Charles VII, with the manuals of the sixteenth century, shows what changes were taking place. It seems, for instance, that the turkey was only just coming into favour (an older tradition that it was introduced into France by Jacques Coeur, Argentier to Charles VII, is now discredited), and La Bruyère Champier writing in 1560 speaks of it as if fairly recent. The guinea fowl was now established. The old cult of the peacock was giving way, but the heron was much in demand. Francis I established heronries at Fontainebleau, and the birds were sold in the public markets. Swan, particularly the swans of Touraine and the Charente, were always in demand (the birds were then hunted). Among fish, the turbot is most praised, but also the salmon of the Loire and the Rhone. The anchovy was already in favour, and the barbels of the Somme are commended (perhaps some were eaten at Ardes?). The type of dish, evidence of a complex tradition and blending of cuisines, is seen in a document 'Mémoire pour faire un ecriteau pour un banquet', noticed by Le Grand d'Aussy in the eighteenth century, dating from this period, but not so far identified. It lists among the favoured ragouts 'bécasse à laquesat, civet de cerfs aux navets, chevreuil au fromage de Milan, cailles au laurier, sanglier aux marrons, sarcelles confites, perdrix à l'orange, perdrix aux capres, lion de blanc chapon' (woodcock à laquesat, civet of venison with white turnips, kid with Milan cheese sauce, quail cooked with bay leaves, stuffed teal, partridge with orange sauce or with capers, 'lion' of white capon). Many sauces, except those intended to be

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pp. 73, 79, 93, 196-7; *Early English meals and manners*, pp. 33, 36-7, 48, 57-8, 159-60. The comparison of John Russell's treatise, mid-fifteenth century, with the 1513 treatise of Wynkyn de Worde shows that little change had taken place in taste between the two dates. The Piers of Fulham reference is in *Remains of the early popular poetry of England collected and ed . . . by W. Carew Hazlitt*, London 1866, Vol. II, 9 (line 195).



'piquant', were made with sugar and rose water, for instance 'eau bénite' mentioned by Taillevent, and made with equal parts of rose water and verjuice, with ginger and marjoram, boiled and sieved. Another, mentioned in sixteenth century manuals, was 'muscade' (nutmeg) made with cinnamon, sugar, cloves, 'grains of paradise' (like cardamom), and a whole nutmeg, served hot. Garlic appeared often, especially in *l'aillée*, made with garlic, almonds, bread and stock, to the consistency of mustard. These recipes give hints of a gastronomic tradition which is popularly associated with the satire of Rabelais. The fourth book of his *Pantagruel* (dating from mid-century, but no doubt embodying long experience) presents the 'gastrolatres' or worshippers of the belly, with the full flourish of their culinary product: roasts, fricassées, pasties, smoked and salted meats, sausages; all manner of meats, fish and fowl (including the guinea fowl and turkey). In fact, it seems clear that gastronomic confusion, as much as profusion, is satirized. There is no gibe at the Chancellor Duprat, whose endeavour to popularize the eating of donkey flesh secures him a mention in histories of the French cuisine. Perhaps he did not attempt to secure its inclusion in the royal banquets of his time.

Among vegetables then in vogue, the asparagus was the most notable new arrival. It was cooked by quickly plunging into boiling water, so briefly that a proverb grew from the process. Presumably the plant, well established in France when La Bruyère Champier wrote in mid century, had come from Italy, for Rabelais praises the asparagus of Ravenna. There were endless varieties of salad, often flavoured with herbs and decorated with flowers. Young fennel, orange and lemon with sugar, onion and cucumber with vinegar, are mentioned. Among the fruits for dessert, the apricot and the greengage were recent. The latter, brought to France by the naturalist Pierre Belon, was cultivated at Blois: it took its French name from the Queen's. The prunes of Reims were a great delicacy. The pear, then as now, was favoured, and Rabelais gives his own account of the origin of the most prized, the 'bon chrétien' of Touraine (still a favourite). Another, the 'cuisse Madame' from Lyon, must have provoked pleasantries. Strawberries were now cultivated, but the raspberry was thought fit only for children and peasants. Among the confected desserts, Rabelais hints at a profusion of pastries and creams: flans and tarts, pasty (quince pasty has special mention), jellies, 'neige de

crème', stuffed plums (the myrobalans), macaroons. Among cheeses, those of Italy were already imported: Parmesan had been known to Charles VIII, and there was also a Florentine cheese, Marsolin, which was favoured. That of Brie, among home products, is highly praised.

The wines most celebrated appear to have been those of Beaune and Orléans. Erasmus, for instance, praised the wines of Burgundy, which healed him after the hard and bitter wines of the Rhine. The wines of Arbois (Jura) and Graves are also praised. There was some consumption of beer, but the beer of England was conceded to be the best. Not yet had the insidious fashion of the liqueur crept into court circles. It was to Catherine de Medici (who came to France in 1533) that the introduction of this habit, as a refreshment and not just a medicine, was due. Rossolis (made from the sundew) added final delight to the profusion of her banquets. But the subtler and more delicate recipes which the Queen favoured (her gluttony had its good side) were already presaged in the newer dishes of the previous decade.<sup>1</sup>

These recipes give some idea of the robust appetites and capacities of the times. There was nothing half-hearted about these matters. At the Neville Feast in 1465, brawn and mustard sauce was served with Malmsey, out of course (between courses) just for good measure. A banquet of 1518 at Greenwich included 260 dishes, and then a 'void' or dessert of 60 more. Clearly, there was little scope here for the cook as physician, a duty rightly stressed by Andrew Boorde 'A good cooke is halfe a physycyon. For the chefe physyche . . . dothe come from the kytchyn'. Again, he quoted the proverb 'God may sende a man goode meate, but the deuyll may sende an euyll coke to dysttrue it'. There was need for a note of warning, as given by John Russell: the cooks with their new conceits, chopping, stamping and grinding, inventing many new curiosities every day, provoke people to many 'perelles of passage' (eating), and through excess of such recipes endanger lives. Spice, most needed and most costly (the English budget quoted estimated £460 for spice out of £7,400) no doubt gave strong flavours which in turn led to high consumption of drink: in fact, the whole affair was a vicious circle. There would be much

<sup>1</sup> J. B. La Bruyère Champier, *De re cibaria libri XXI omnium ciborum*, Lyon 1560 (or Frankfurt, 1600); P. J. B. Le Grand d'Aussy, *Histoire de la vie privée des français, depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1882; H. Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe privée et public*, Paris 1878, Vol. III; Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, livre IV, li, lii, lix, lx.

need of the fruit and lighter desserts, although even here danger might lurk. One English writer recorded that raw cream 'undecocted', eaten with strawberries or whortleberries, was a countryman's banquet, but might put men in jeopardy of their lives. A contemporary French proverb warned 'apres la poire le vin ou le prestre' (after pears, take wine or call for the priest), no doubt evidence of generations of indigestion. Some of the dangers, and the ever present possibility of poison, were anticipated for the great: for popes, emperors, empresses, kings, queens, cardinals, archbishops and the higher nobility (down to earls), there was the 'assay' or tasting of food and drink. Their household officials would dip a piece of bread into baked meats and sauces, cut off a morsel of roasts, and drink of all beverages: even the subtleties were sometimes assayed. Lesser mortals had to take their chance, and no doubt, as with the wines, the lower tables were less favoured. Again Barclay (using Aeneas Sylvius) thunders against the ordinary courtier's misfortunes: coarse beef and mutton, tough old meat, twice sodden, sauced with coal and ashes, soup made with weeds and ashes, and with bits of coal in it, cheese, full of maggots, coloured like the rainbow and gnawed by mice and rats, half-hatched eggs, pears and apples fit only for the swine, frying oil fit only for lamps, salted fish or tench and eel with muddy savour, fish five days old, black bread which the teeth can scarcely break. The whole picture was of courtiers gnawing on the bread and cheese in their laps, ravenous as hounds, while delicious dishes were borne past them, watching the server carve a crane or some other dainty for the lord, but getting no gobbet (or piece) themselves, smelling only the pasty of venison, in fact in every way like Tantalus, tormented by the sight of water and fruit.<sup>1</sup>

A banquet or feast of this kind, with its attendant solemnities in presentation, service and entertainment, might well last for hours. King Henry's banquet for the Emperor at Calais in this year is said to have lasted four hours, as did a French banquet for the English King at the Ardres meeting we are describing. Clearly, it was an ordeal that could not be undertaken when the participants were about to joust. In 1520, the great feasts took place on Sundays, when martial exercise was forbidden. Even so, there might be occasions when the great simply toyed with their

<sup>1</sup> *Early English meals and manners*, p. 33; Boorde, loc. cit., p. 260, 277. Proverb in Cotgrave. On the assay: *Early English meals and manners*, pp. 80, 193, 200-2. On courtiers, Barclay, *Eclogues*, pp. 80-7.

food, as might happen today. On one occasion, we are told that the Kings and Queens ate privately beforehand, and only conversed at the banquet, while admiring the service and the meats. Bacon wrote that princes 'come and look little upon them [banquets] and turn away' and this seems to have been true in 1520, when no doubt some of the delicacies prepared by Henry's French cook Pirro or Pero and by his opposite number at the French court, were more for admiration than eating.<sup>1</sup> They may have reflected a contemporary observation that the English were fond of beef, the French of mutton. Whatever the exact menus, there is no doubt that behind the scenes the lesser cooks and scullions would be hardpressed beyond endurance. The accommodation was temporary and strange, as were many of the hired utensils, and some of the food must have been difficult to preserve and serve forth decently. The list of officials mentions a master cook John Case, eleven others, and twelve children. These were the scullions whom the administration tried (no doubt vainly) to discipline. An ordinance of 1526 enjoins the master cooks to provide such as will not go naked, or in garments of such vileness as they do now, nor lie in the nights and days in the kitchen or on the ground near the fireside. They were to be honest, and such as could be trained later as cooks (a pious hope of administrators then and now).<sup>2</sup>

At such banquets, there would usually be some segregation of the dining arrangements. The royal party might eat in one room, the ladies of the retinue in another, and the gentlemen in a third, all afterwards meeting together for the music and dancing. The first banquets at Guines and Ardres were held on the first Sunday of the meeting. King Henry left for Ardres and King Francis for Guines at precisely the same hour, their departure, and return, being signalled by gunfire. King Henry was to be entertained in the King's lodging at Ardres, because the 'great tent' was not finished. He wore a double mantle of cloth of gold, made like a cloak, embroidered with jewels, chiefly rubies and diamonds, both on the belt and on the folds of the doublet. Round his neck he wore a collar with a large ruby, bigger than a Mocenigo ducat (this is a Venetian account). In his cloth of gold cap was another

<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 180; LP, III (i), 1114 (p. 408); Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), *The history of the reign of Henry VII . . .*, London 1676, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> LP, III (i), 704 (p. 244); *A collection of ordinances and regulations for the government of the royal household made in diverse reigns*, London 1790 (Society of Antiquaries), p. 148 (hereafter referred to as Household Ordinances).



ruby. The King, riding a courser given him by the French King, was met at the entrance to the courtyard by the Queen Mother of France, clad in her widow's weeds. He was escorted to the banquetting chamber where the Queen and the Chancellor (Duprat) awaited him. Queen Claude was also in cloth of gold, embroidered with jewels, and a kirtle of the same material displayed diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. The sleeves of her dress were also bejewelled, and on her breast shone a fine diamond 'la pointe de Bretagne', no doubt a crown jewel of Brittany, to which she was heiress. The banquetting chamber rivalled the costumes of hostess and guest, for it also was hung with cloth of gold. The table was laid on one side only, King Henry being seated first, and being joined by the two Queens, the Duchess of Alençon (Francis's sister Marguerite) and the Duchess of Vendôme.

The banquet was punctuated by music, in the manner customary on such occasions, that is to say, the strident music of trumpets to escort and announce the service of each course, and then the softer incidental music (both vocal and instrumental at this banquet), while the courses were being served and eaten. The former music was a royal and aristocratic custom, a seigneurial privilege in France ('on cornait les repas'). At the banquet for King Henry, trumpets and clarions played while lords and gentlemen brought in the viands, on dishes with gold covers. Twenty-four trumpets and a number of heralds marched in procession from the kitchen with twelve masters of the household, their batons held low near the ground, and the Grand Master, his gold baton of office resting on his shoulder. These household officials, in gold brocade, supervised the ordering of the banquet. The ceremonial may be compared with that at a similar feast in the Bastille in 1518, when the viands, some emitting flames and fire, were fetched from the kitchen by a procession of eight trumpets, twelve archers with their Captain, five heralds, eight officials of the household, headed by the Grand Master. The dishes for the high table were carried by twenty-four pages of honour and those for the lower tables by archers of the guard. In 1520, as no doubt in 1518, the table was decorated with the customary 'entremets' (in this context the equivalent of subtleties): salamanders (the emblem of Francis I), leopards and ermines (the emblem of Brittany), carrying the Arms of the Kings and Queens. The salamander, emblem of Francis I and of his father and grandfather, counts of Angoulême, was thought from classical times to live in the fire, and to be able to

extinguish it. There was also the tradition that it was immortal. The grandfather of the King appears to have used the emblem to signify his extinguishing of disturbance and sedition, just as the salamander extinguished fire. Francis I used the emblem with the motto 'Notrisco al buono, stingo al reo' (I nourish the good and extinguish evil).

The banquet continued to the third course, at which the heralds cried 'largesse' (i.e. they distributed money) in the name of the King of England. The whole meal took upwards of four hours, and at the same time, in another room, the Duke of Alençon and other nobles feasted the 'princes' of England. There was a public banquet in another room or pavilion, hung with rich materials, some said pink brocade, others cloth of gold, with a crimson velvet carpet. It was in this room or pavilion that the music and dancing took place, after the banquets, and to which the royal party adjourned.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, King Francis had been elaborately entertained at Guines. He arrived, riding a mule, clad in cloth of gold, the slashes joined by silver bosses, and with pearls instead of buttons. He was feasted in the 'new palace' across the moat from the castle, and, as at Ardres, there were several banquets proceeding at the same time. The King dined opposite Queen Catherine, under a costly canopy. At one end of the table sat Cardinal Wolsey, and at the other Mary Duchess of Suffolk, the King's sister. The chamber was hung with costly tapestry, representing foliage. The King's food was served on covered dishes of gold, that for the other tables on silver gilt. Music, both instrumental and vocal, was played during the meal, perhaps some of the royal compositions. 'Pastyme with good companye' would have been appropriate, or one of the compositions of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal: a piece by William Cornish, Master of the Children of the Chapel (Director of Sacred Music), whose carol for the joust has been mentioned, or Thomas Farthing's 'Thoughts in my breast' or 'In May that lusty season', or Robert Fayrfax's 'Somewhat musing'.

<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 179; LP, III (i), 869 (pp. 305-6); SPV, III, 69 (pp. 54-5), 84; for the 1518 banquet, Rawdon Brown, ii, 305-7. For music at banquets, J. Stevens, *Music and poetry in the early Tudor court*, London 1961, pp. 233 et seq. For the salamander, see the Elder Pliny, *Natural History*, XXIX, 74; Aelian, *History of animals*, II, 31. In 1504 a medal was struck to commemorate Francis I's tenth birthday. It bore the salamander and the motto quoted. (BN. Cabinet de médailles; another medal is in London, Wallace Collection.)

It is interesting that the trio of royal musicians 'the birde of Cornewalle (Cornish), the Crane (William Crane) and the Kite (John Kite)' were all present in 1520. Cornish and Crane, who were both composers and writers of dramatic pieces, were there as members of the Chapel Royal, Kite, by now Archbishop of Armagh, among the prelates. King Henry's interest in music is well known: in 1515 Giustinian reports him as practising day and night on the organ, 'clavicimbani' (a keyboard instrument with plucked strings, like a virginal or harpsichord), and flute, and able to sing at sight; from other evidence we know that he played the lute, virginals, cornett, 'lute-pipe' and recorder. At his death the royal instruments were a sizeable collection: double regals (portable organs), single regals, virginals, clavicords, viols (by now in high favour), gitterons (predecessors of the guitar), flutes, crumliions (treble cornetts), cornetts, recorders (77 of them), shawms, bagpipes, fifes and 'Venice flutes'. The King's need of musicians was considerable. In addition to the select band of the Gentlemen of the Chapel (usually twenty with twelve or more boys), there were the minstrels or secular musicians, some members of the household, some on a less permanent basis of employment: sixteen trumpeters (with a marshal), drummers, pipers, sackbutts, shawms, rebecs, and others. The number had grown appreciably under King Henry, who already as Duke of York had his own troop of minstrels. In 1520 his Master of the Minstrels was John Gilmyn, who may have been present at Guines. Foreigners knew of the King's interest in music, and in this year Geo von Amburgh ('drumslade' or drummer), Noye de la Sale and Nicolas de Bovall (minstrels) testify to the cosmopolitan world of the royal musicians. The Duke of Alençon sent over a player on the clavicord immediately after the meeting. Perhaps most famous, and most favoured among the royal musicians, was Dionisio Memo, organist of St. Mark's, Venice, who arrived in 1516, and in 1517 composed a vocal quartet and instrumental music for the King. His music made the highlight of the feasts given for the Spanish ambassador in 1517, when boys sang, and others played on the flute, rebec and harpsichord, 'making the sweetest melody'. Memo may have left England by 1520, but his works may well have remained part of the repertoire of the royal musicians after that date. Certainly, the music for the feasts and solemnities would have been of the utmost importance, and of special interest to the King himself. We may reflect that some of the musicians, then as now, were less

well off than the stately Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. Edward IV had found it necessary to restrain their quest for rewards: they were not to be 'too presumptuous nor too familiar to aske rewardes of the lordes of his lond': Louis XII had the same problem, and distinctly forbad his musicians, at peril of their lives, from importuning the visiting English courtiers in their lodgings (1514). No doubt there was also rivalry and sharp practice in the search for musicians. When Cardinal Wolsey visited France in 1527, King Francis borrowed one of his shawm players (the Cardinal's household normally included four minstrels, plus drummers and trumpeters). The man died, either of over-blowing or, as Cavendish the Cardinal's biographer hints, of poison.<sup>1</sup>

As the music and banquet for King Francis proceeded, other banquets were held. In the great hall of the 'palace' some 130 ladies sat down to a feast with twenty gentlemen standing in attendance, as a mark of honour. We may compare the feast for the Emperor at Canterbury when 'enamoured youths' stood behind the ladies at their banquet, a custom noted as English by a foreign observer. At Guines, in another hall of the same size, 200 gentlemen were feasted, while in a chamber similar to that for the royal banquet, the Duke of Bourbon, the Admiral, the Duke of Vendôme, the Seigneur de la Trémouille, and other nobles of France, sat down to dine. It seems likely that the two halls may have been the two sections of the banqueting hall, which we know to have been divided by tapestries, the two chambers those in the royal apartments. In Wolsey's apartments, there was a banquet for the Bishop of Paris and other French prelates, graced no doubt by those of England as hosts. At each and every feast, we are told that food was served so liberally that people choked, while at the gate the fountains ran wine for five hours. After the banquet, King Francis came into the hall going from one end to the other, cap in hand, and kissing the ladies 'saving iiii or fyve that were ould and not faire standing together', an English comment which

<sup>1</sup> J. Stevens, *op. cit.*, for a most stimulating general discussion. F. Ll. Harrison, *Music in medieval Britain*, London 1958. H. Baillie, 'Les musiciens de la chapelle royale d'Henri VIII au camp du drap d'or', in J. Jacquot, *Les fêtes de la renaissance*, Vol. II, Paris 1960. For the royal instruments see H. Ellis, *Original letters illustrative of English history*, 2nd series, London 1827, i, 272-3. For Henry VIII as musician, Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-6; Rawdon Brown, i, 76, 80; ii, 75. For Memo, Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-6; Rawdon Brown, i, 296, 301; ii, 75, 97-8, 161, 126. For Cornish, Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-2. *Household Ordinances*, p. 48; SPV, II, 511; Cavendish, p. 60; LP, III (i), 923, 1010, 1114 (pp. 407-8).



suggests that the King's reputed gallantry was selective. There was then dancing to tabour, fife and 'viol', Mary, Duchess of Suffolk opening the dance with a French partner. It is possible that the musical combination was tabour, pipe, and rebec, rather than a viol, only just coming into fashion in England and not recorded among royal instruments until 1527. The rebec, three stringed, with a separate raised finger board, was chiefly used for dance music. At this date the Queen's minstrels were a taberet, pipe, and rebec, and the Earl of Northumberland's a taberet, lute, and rebec. In the 1520 festivities it seems that the Kings took their own instrumentalists with them to a feast. At Guines, King Francis led a dance, in the Italian fashion, to the music of his own fifes and trombones (or sackbuts), the usual accompaniment of dancing in this style. The King partnered the beautiful Miss Browne (sister of Sir Wistan) who appears to have attracted him more than any other. He 'made love' to the English ladies and kissed them all (?) before leaving. It seems that Queen Catherine did not dance, and that her sister-in-law Mary always led the revels. At about five o'clock, the two Kings left their festivities: they met in the lists on their way home, and stayed long in conversation, laughing together.<sup>1</sup>

On the next Sunday, the 17th June, an even more elaborate double entertainment took place. King Henry's arrangements for the meeting included provision for 'an honorable mummary . . . of noble men and women', in which five companies, each of ten (three of men and two of women) should take part, their apparel being 'remitted' to the King's device and pleasure.<sup>2</sup> The entertainment known as mumming, in which a company in costume visited a King or great noble at a banquet and mimed some scene which their costume explained, had developed in the early fifteenth century into a more sophisticated spoken 'charade' which contemporaries called a 'disguising', and in which the poet Lydgate had played a notable part. This mumming or disguising, for the two terms were not clearly distinct, was now blended with the Italian importation of the masque. This diversion, over whose origins much critical blood has been spent, involved disguised performers, as did the mumming or disguising, but they also wore masking visors and cloaks, and (to the scandal of some when it was first seen in England in 1512) at the end of the entertain-

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 23), 69 (pp. 54-5), 81, 84; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, ff. 101<sup>r</sup> and 101<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C).

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, XXI, 182-3.

ment, they selected partners from among the audience and 'daunced and commoned (communed) together, as the fashion of the Maskes is'. There was thus the new and dangerous excitement of dancing and talking with an unknown partner, who unmasked at the end of the dance. Audience and performers were intermingled in shocking flirtation, a thing not permitted to the troops of players in the mumming and disguising. The fact that the maskers might include those of the court, and even the King, surely added to its attraction. It seems fairly clear that it was this 'communing together' of maskers and audience which struck observers as new and distinctively Italian. Hall's comment on the masque at Newhall (Essex) in September 1519 would seem to confirm this interpretation: 'they daunsed with ladies sadly [in a dignified way], and communed not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaved theihselves sadly'. The masque was in vogue at the French and Burgundian courts; King Henry had seen masques at Lille in 1513 and at Tournai, and his ambassadors in 1518 saw one at the great evening entertainment at the Bastille given by the French King in their honour. The theme of a masque, as in the earlier English disguising, might be from medieval romance or classical mythology, or some allegorical illustration of a topical theme, as for instance peace between England and France. There would always be elaborate, and usually moveable, settings, the 'walking pageant wagons' as Mattingly called them, which included many hard favourites, the castle, the mountain, the ship, and which could be cleared away for the dancing which followed. Such festivities were often the indoor complement to the outdoor 'feat of arms', as in 1520, the two being linked by the presentation of the prizes for the feat of arms, usually done at the banquet preceding the masque. The masque of 1520 had a long history before it: by the Jacobean period, strongly influenced by the 'masquerades' and poems of Ronsard, it was a sophisticated and elaborate court entertainment. Francis Bacon's description may yet have some validity for the earlier masques of King Henry's day. Calling them 'but toyes' he wrote 'but yet, since Princes will have such things, it is better they should be Graced with Elegancy, than daubed with cost . . . The alterations of scenes, if quietly done, were things of great beauty and pleasure, for they fed and relieved the eye. Let the scenes abound with Light, specially Coloured and Varied . . . Let the Songs be Loud, and Cheerfull, and not Chirping, or Pulings. Let the Musicke likewise, be Sharpe,

and Loud, and Well Placed. The Colours that shew best by Candlelight are: White, Carnation, and a Kinde of Sea-Water-Greene; and Oes, or Spangs [spangles], as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for Rich Embroidery, it is lost and not discerned.' Costumes should be graceful and not 'known attires' as of Turks, Soldiers, Mariners. 'Some sweet Odours, suddenly comming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steame and Heat, Things of great Pleasure, and Refreshment. Double Masques, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State, and Variety.'<sup>1</sup>

The English masques would have been the responsibility of the Revels office, then developing in importance. A Master of the Revels is mentioned in 1494; in 1511 and for some years afterwards Sir Henry Guildford held the office, and he may well have retained it in 1520, by which time he also held the office of Master of the Horse. If so, then he would have been much concerned with the entertainments. The detailed arrangements, however, seem to have fallen to Richard Gibson, Sergeant of the Tents, whom we have already noticed toiling on the King's palace and pavilions. He would have been responsible for the masking costumes and trappings, obtaining materials from the Wardrobe, and jewels from the Jewel House, and engaging any workmen needed. He had started his royal service as a Wardrobe official, and no doubt was very familiar with the needs of the courtly revellers. It is interesting that by 1544 there was a Master of the Tents and Revels, a proof of the close connection which had grown up between the two departments. Gibson's accounts, which survive in the Public Record Office, are our main source for the masking costumes of 1520.<sup>2</sup>

At the Field of Cloth of Gold, the first masques were after the banquets on June 17th. King Henry rode to Ardres, taking with him his sister Mary and her husband, the Duke of Suffolk. The French King went to Guines with his mother, Louise, so that the French and English parties were matched in rank and composition.

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 40, 179 (cf. i, 176; a masque followed by a 'goodly comedy of Plautus'); Rawdon Brown, ii, 305-7. Francis Bacon, *Essays* (Of Masques and Triumphs). For the general question of the masque: J. Stevens, *Music and poetry in the early Tudor Court*, London 1961; Glynne Wickham, *Early English stages, 1300-1600*, London 1959, Vol. I; Frances A. Yates, *The French academies of the sixteenth century*, London 1947. J. R. A. Nicoll, *Stuart masques and the Renaissance stage*, London 1937.

<sup>2</sup> E. K. Chambers, *Notes on the history of the Revels Office under the Tudors*, London 1906.

At Ardres, Henry was shown to a chamber hung with blue velvet and gold fleur-de-lis, with a bed similarly covered. He proceeded to another chamber with a King's state (presumably a canopy of state) and hung with cloth of gold, with friar's knots of silver. It had two cupboards groaning with gilt plate. It was intended that the King should dine alone, but he summoned to him the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Vendôme, the Admiral and other 'French princes', perhaps after dining, together with Suffolk and another English noble unnamed. The Duchess of Suffolk sat at table with the Queen of France, both under a canopy, and both wearing the most beautiful pearls. Was the dispute over the 'Miroir de Naples' gently evaded in their conversation? Meanwhile, the Admiral, Grand Master and other French princes had given banquets in their lodgings for the lords and gentlemen of England. After these separate banquets, there was dancing, led by Mary, the White Queen as she was often called (from the days of her widowhood in France). The King then retired into the Admiral's tent, and put on masking apparel, as did those of his company, to the number of thirty.

The maskers had been escorted to Ardres by musicians—the customary loud instruments, drums and fifes in one account, 'drumslades' (drums) only in another, with other minstrels to accompany the masque and the dancing which followed. Six drummers, clad as lansquenets, and other minstrels in white, yellow and russet damask 'blew and played through Ardres'. The drums and fifes would also announce the entry of the maskers when the masque commenced, with the shrill and strident tones recommended by Bacon. This was the 'gaudy noise' as one critic has it, which drew attention to something worth seeing, for music in all these solemnities was essential but usually subordinate to the seeing (or eating).<sup>1</sup>

The first company of English maskers, which included the Earl of Devonshire, Nicholas Carew, and Francis Brian, are described by Hall (whose narrative exactly matches the detail from the Revels accounts) as dressed like Eastlanders, after the manner of Ry and Revel in 'Kuselande' or Far Eastland. Their hose was of gold satin 'aureate satin', overrulled to the knee with scarlet. Their shoes had little spikes of white nails; their doublets were of rich crimson velvet lined with cloth of gold, and over these they wore short cloaks of the same materials, and decked with rings of silver

<sup>1</sup> Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 233 et seq.



with laces of Venice gold. They had hats made in Danzig, and purses and girdles of sealskin. The next set wore long gowns, as worn by 'doctors' in England, that is the old fashioned long gowns worn by lawyers and professional men. The gowns were 'of the ancient fashion', in blue satin, embroidered with 'reasons of gold' saying 'Adieu jeunesse' (farewell youth). An Italian observer found the mottoes, which were in 'English' letters, unintelligible. These 'ancients' had tippets of black velvet, their hats hanging from them. These were high-standing and in violet; their girdles were of silk and their purses of cloth of gold 'after the ancient fashion'. Their visors were those of old men. Lastly came ten lords, the King among them, in pale cloth of gold gowns of state, lined with green sarsenet taffeta, and knit together with silver points. They had false beards of fine gold wire, and wore caps instead of hats. Some Italian and French onlookers took these maskers to be clothed in the Greek and Albanian fashion, but on this we have no corroboration. Their three companies, all male on this occasion, chose their partners from the assembled company, and afterwards unmasked. Spices, fruits, jellies, and 'banket viands' were then brought. The company returned to Guines in masking apparel, their minstrels playing them through the streets. They retained their masks, and were mounted on horses caparisoned in yellow and white damask. We do not know how King Henry had acquitted himself in the dancing. Perhaps he danced as boisterously as he jousted, for at Tournai in 1513 he was noticed to dance in his shirt and without shoes, leaping like a stag.<sup>1</sup>

On June 17th, there were similar festivities at Guines, but preceded by a comic or chivalrous episode, as one views the event. For it was probably on this day that King Francis paid his much publicized surprise visit to the English King. Hall states that Francis arrived at Guines at eight o'clock in the morning, when Henry was still in his privy chamber. The latter went to welcome Francis and they communed together. M. de Florange has another version: King Francis rose early, contrary to custom, and arrived at Guines with two gentlemen and a page. He met English archers and the governor of Guines on the bridge of the castle, and

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 208-10; Montfaucon, IV, 176; SPV, III, 50 (p. 26), 90, 91; LP, III (ii), p. 1554 (original accounts in PRO E 36/217 from which the details have been quoted). For the incident at Tournai, *Calendar of State papers and manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Milan*, ed. A. B. Hinds, London 1912, I, 654.

demanded to see King Henry, whom he surprised in his chamber. King Francis declared himself willing to be Henry's lackey, and helped him on with his shirt. Henry affirmed the singular trust which the visit had shown, and the two Kings exchanged presents. The King of France did not stay for a banquet for it was a day of jousting (which would place the event on a day other than the 17th, a Sunday). Another, Venetian, account, records that Francis surprised Henry at an early hour, declared himself Henry's prisoner, and then went with him to hear mass in the chapel adjoining the new palace. Finally they exchanged presents. King Henry gave Francis a collar 'worth 30,000 ducats', of balastes or rubies, the clasp of diamonds and pearls, in the centre a pendant ruby, in the shape of a heart, called a carbuncle. King Francis reciprocated with a jewelled bracelet. Florange records that he remonstrated with his King on his return, for he thought the visit foolhardy; Francis replied that he had acted only on his own advice. As may be appreciated, King Henry was now bound to return the 'surprise' for, as Florange notices, the French and English had had great difficulties in their meeting, to avoid one appearing stronger than the other. A few days later, therefore, King Henry visited Ardres, finding King Francis either in, or just out of, bed. They dined without ceremony, and then proceeded to the lists. An Italian comment was that until then King Henry had displayed no mark of confidence in the French, but rather distrust in all matters. King Francis had moved Henry to make the visit by acting first.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever the precise details of these two visits, the first was followed by the state banquet for Francis which corresponded to the banquet and masque at Ardres already described. To Guines, to the 'newe palaice royall', came the Queen Mother of France. She dined with Queen Catherine. King Francis may have dined alone, as Henry at Ardres, or with the English nobles. Wolsey either dined with the Queens, giving the banquet in his apartments (as one account states) or with the French nobles, as another has it. After the banquets, there was dancing and masking. There were ten couples, for it was a mixed masque, in long gowns of velvet and satin, with hoods and plumes. The King himself wore russet velvet, bordered with white, as did his partner. The confusion in describing such entertainment is shown: 'apres disner y eut plusieurs masques et damoiselles encornetees,

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 208; Florange, i, 268-70; SPV, III, 50 (pp. 26-7), 77, 78, 90.

emplumees, disguisees pour faire mommons' (after dinner there were several masques (maskers) and ladies with horned head-dresses, and plumes disguised to do a mumming). Later, there was dancing in the Ferrarese fashion, the King dancing with 'my lady Browne'. Again it is Italian dancing and his favoured English partner. On taking his leave, the King and his maskers were escorted by the Cardinal and the Duke of Buckingham. They met King Henry and his company, in masking apparel, on the 'field', 'which gladdened the French King'.<sup>1</sup>

The festivities continued the next day, when Wolsey feasted with the Queen Mother of France, and then proceeded to the joust, and on the day following (the 19th) when the Cardinal gave a banquet for the English and French prelates and possibly also the foreign ambassadors, including the papal nuncio. Wolsey had said mass first, and then followed the banquet, at which the company ate and drank from gold vessels, and discussed news of the Turk. On another day, the Cardinal gave a banquet to the English and French nobles, and the foreign ambassadors; it seems that he delivered a homily on the dangers to the Emperor if he aspired to greater power in Italy. We may be sure that these banquets were sumptuous, as well as stately. One Italian commented that the Cardinal maintained great decorum, ceremony, pomp and formalities, while for Giustinian the Cardinal's banquets exceeded those given by Cleopatra or Caligula. Wolsey's 'hall kitchen' (i.e. that for the household in general) had two master cooks, and in his 'privy kitchen' the master cook 'went dayly in Dammaske, Satten or velvett w<sup>t</sup> [with] a chayn of gold abought his nekke'. Whether or not this grandee actually cooked, there was a large retinue of assistants to produce the exquisite food for which the Cardinal's demand was notorious. Skelton at his unkindest was probably not far from the truth:

To keep his flesshe chaste  
In Lent, for a repaste  
He eateth capons stewes  
Fesaunt and partridge mewed  
Hennes, checkynges, and pigges.

It is unlikely that Wolsey failed to bring some of his culinary experts to Guines, or that he omitted his customary extravagant

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 210; SVP, III, 50 (p. 26), 90; Montfaucon, IV, 175-6. Cf. the French masque in 1518 (Rawdon Brown, ii, 305).

hospitality. On this occasion he no doubt waived his habit of being served before visiting ambassadors.<sup>1</sup>

Saturday, the 23rd of June (the eve of St. John) saw the greatest solemnity of the meeting. Overnight, a chapel had been erected on the site of the lists; it may have stood on pillars and was about nine feet high. The altar was opposite the galleries or scaffolds from which the Queens had viewed the combat, the galleries themselves being converted into the pews or 'oratories' for the royal company. The whole was so well arranged that all could see. The chapel glittered with gold, 'a goodlie and large chappell which was richlie behanged and garnished with divers saints and reliques, which chappell was buylded and garnished at the king our master's coste with the appurtenances'. There were ten large silver gilt images on the altar (presumably from the chapel in the palace at Guines), two golden candlesticks and a large jewelled crucifix. The whole structure impressively symbolized the triumph of religion and peace over war; had not the very scene of the challenge been utilized for this final solemn act of worship?

It is unfortunate that Edward Hall, writing after the break with Rome, gives short shrift to the mass and its ceremony, for this means that one of our main, and most detailed, sources is for once silent. The Italian and French eyewitnesses take up the tale. Near the altar were the seats for Cardinal Wolsey and the high dignitaries of the church, in meticulous order of precedence. Wolsey himself sat beneath a canopy, to the right of the altar; another canopied seat, placed a little lower than Wolsey's was for Cardinal de Bois, the papal legate to France, and, lower still by one step, three other seats, again canopied, for the three remaining Cardinals, Bourbon, d'Albret, and Lorraine. These princes of the church were all in red camelot. Next came the French prelates, some twelve in number, including Sens, Verdun, Lisieux, Angoulême, Glandève, Senlis, Macon, Castre, Vaure, Auxerre (and presumably Paris). The English prelates assisted Wolsey, and so were presumably near him, and presumably the full complement were there: Durham, Ely, Armagh, Chichester, Exeter, Rochester, Hereford, and Llandaff. Canterbury may have sat with the French prelates, as one observer states. Between the altar and the royal pews, was an open space for the choirs, those of the English and French royal chapels, the organists, and other

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 27), 91, 92. For Wolsey's kitchen Cavendish, p. 19; Rawdon Brown, ii, 225, 315; Skelton, ii, 333; VSP, III, 82.



musicians, trombones, sackbutts, fifes, cornetts are mentioned. Each singer had his desk, and the two choirs sang alternately, it having been arranged that when the French organist struck up the French should sing, and the English should sing when their organist played.<sup>1</sup>

The royal Chapels (the word used for the ecclesiastical establishment of a prince or great noble) had a long tradition of musical performance and composition. We have already noticed some members of the English Chapel; twenty of its 'Gentlemen' in all are listed as attending the meeting. They may have been reinforced, for instance by members of Wolsey's Chapel, itself justly famous and sometimes envied by the King. The Cardinal had twelve singing priests, besides the Dean, Subdean, Gospeller, Epistoller and the trainer of the choir; sixteen singing men and twelve singing children with a master. As for organists, it is possible that the Venetian, Memo, was no longer in the King's service, and the royal organist may have been the German Benedict de Opitiis, previously organist at Antwerp, and also a composer. He was in England in this year, and the most recent writer on the subject has suggested that he may have gone to the meeting at Guines. However, it is not certain, and one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel, perhaps John Giles, may have played on that occasion. One eyewitness records that the English organist played superbly; an improvement it seems on an occasion in 1515 when Guistinian's secretary wrote that two royal organists played badly: they kept bad time, their touch was feeble, and their execution was not good. On the French side, the organist at the solemn mass was Pierre Mouton, canon of Nôtre Dame, and later its organist. He was not himself a composer, but his namesake, and no doubt relative, Jean Mouton, has left motets (about 100), some masses, some Magnificats, and some twenty songs. We know that he was working at the court in 1518, and was still alive in 1520 and it is likely that he may have been present at the meeting of the Kings, and that some of his compositions, particularly his motets, may have been used. This composer, influenced by Josquin des Prés, but himself developing a lively and individual style, was the most famous at court in these years. Of the other composers whose works were sung by the French Chapel, Perino, specifically mentioned (unlike Mouton) has not so far been identified. The

<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 177-80; SPV, III, 50 (p. 29), 93, 94; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (from which the quotation is taken (Appendix C)).

singers were no doubt those of the Sainte Chapelle, founded by St. Louis, whose vocalists were recruited far and wide, especially in the north, where good voices were best found. In 1508, search was made at Soissons, Noyon, S. Quentin, Laon, Reims, Sedan, and Arras for voices, and many were the difficulties which the canons of the Chapel encountered in selecting and keeping enough talent. In 1522 a letter of Francis I comments on the passing of the old days when a knowledge of plain song was sufficient: what was now needed was chaplains and clerks who were 'souverains en l'art de musique, qui est difficile chose à trouver', for greater perfection was demanded, and often foreigners had to be taken, who came and went as they wished. In 1511 the master of singing had been dismissed for inability to sing, failure to read at sight, drunkenness, sedition, and trouble-making in general: 'il gaste et descorde toute la musique et amourie du chant en icelle Sainte Chapelle'. Let us hope that by 1520 a better situation had developed (the records of the Chapel are unfortunately lost for 1514-19).<sup>1</sup>

To return to the great solemnity of June 23rd. The first office was Tierce, said by the English, and probably well after the canonical hour (nine). At about noon, the solemn mass was begun. The Kings and Queens had come into their oratories. In one was the King of France, King Henry, the King of Navarre, the Dukes of Alençon, Vendôme, Bourbon and Suffolk. King Francis's seat was to the right of Henry's; even at this moment he took the right side, the side of honour, for the chapel was on English soil. In the other oratory were the Queens and their ladies. Cardinal Wolsey began to sing the mass of the Trinity before this company 'being present the Kings, Queens and all the gentills nobles and estates aforesaid, at which mass did minister xxi bishops, in pontificall, iii cardinals and i legate under a cloth of estate, at which mass there were iii kings, iii queens, with divers and many noble estate'. To celebrate mass in public may well have been a special occurrence in the life of the worldly Cardinal, if we may believe the Venetian ambassador to London in 1521, who described Wolsey celebrating mass (on hearing of a league with

<sup>1</sup> Baillie loc. cit. (note i, p. 163); P. Kast, 'Remarques sur la musique et les musiciens de la chapelle de François Ier au camp du drap d'or', also in J. Jacquot, *Les fêtes de la renaissance*, vol. II, Paris 1960. For the 1515 incident Rawdon Brown, i, 97-8. For the Sainte Chapelle, M. Brenet, *Les musiciens de la Sainte Chapelle du Palais*, Paris 1910, pp. 49, 50, 75. For Wolsey's chapel, Cavendish, pp. 19-20. The King's envy of this establishment is mentioned Harrison, op. cit., p. 171.

the Pope), and states that this was unusual, the Cardinal not having said mass for several years, save at Guines (the occasion now being considered).<sup>1</sup>

For the mass, Wolsey had been apparelled by the English prelates, who showed him all the respect that could possibly have been shown to the Pope. He wore valuable sandals, set with jewels, and presumably a set of the vestments taken over from Westminster. Two of the prelates (Armagh and Durham) served at the mass; the remainder stood before him while he was seated, and accompanied him when he went to the altar. The mass, in pontificals, would have begun with the Cardinal seated on his throne, from which he would have said the prayers. He would have left his throne and gone to the altar for the Canon. During the solemnity he had washed four times: once at Prime (a mistake for Tierce?), then at the beginning of the mass, at the offertory, and at the Agnus Dei. On each occasion three of the greatest nobles of England were at his side, one to hold the basin of water, one to take the 'assay', and the third to hold the towel. At the Agnus Dei, it was the Dukes of Suffolk and Buckingham, and the Earl of Northumberland, who thus assisted the Cardinal. This may be compared with the ceremony at the solemn mass in 1518 promulgating that treaty with France, at which three Earls assisted Wolsey at the first washing of the hands, and two Dukes and a Marquis at the second.<sup>2</sup>

The music was elaborate; 'at which masse chapplins of bothe the kings did sing masse some tyme the one and some tyme the other, which was a heavenlie hearing'. The division of labour meant that the English sang the first Introit, the French the second, the French sang the Kyrie, the English the Gloria, the French the Patrem (Credo), the English the Sanctus, the French the Agnus Dei, and several motets in conclusion.<sup>3</sup> The accompaniment may have varied. We know that the French organist, Pierre Mouton, accompanied the Kyrie, and that the Patrem or Creed was accompanied by sackbutts and fifes. This may have been the only instrumental music, it certainly marked the Credo as one of the climaxes of the musical setting, the other normally being the

<sup>1</sup> Bod. MS. Ashmole, 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C); LP, III (i), 870 (p. 312); SPV, III, 151.

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 29), 69 (p. 55), 91, 92, 93; Montfaucon, IV, 178-9; for the 1518 ceremony, Hall, i, 170.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 178; SPV, III, 50 (p. 29), 93; Bod. MS. Ashmole, 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C).

Agnus Dei. In another account, the music is stated to have been by Perino, and played on organ, trombones (sackbutts) and cornetts. Of the English performance we know only for certain that the organist played superbly. It is possible that some of the English settings may have been the work of Fayrfax, who was there, and who composed masses and motets, or of William Cornish, who was also there, and who wrote masses, antiphons and carols; also the work of De Opitiis may have been used.<sup>1</sup>

Even on this occasion, there was difficulty over precedence. The gospel was carried by the Cardinal of Bourbon (the little cardinal of Vendôme as Louise of Savoy calls him) first to King Francis, who invited King Henry to kiss it before him. Henry demurred, and finally Francis acted first. There was the same altercation when the Cardinal delivered the 'Pax' or 'Kiss of peace', and the same solution. It seems that the Queens declined to receive the 'Pax', but embraced each other in the manner of clerics. The Queen Mother of France declined both the gospel and the 'Pax', out of respect for the Queen of France.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, before Wolsey gave his benediction, master Pace, secretary to the King of England, came to the end of the chapel, facing the royal congregation, and gave a 'goodly speech' in Latin. He said that the mass was to the honour of God and the Court of Heaven, and the confirmation of the good friendship, peace, concord and fraternity between the Kings, Queens, Princes, Princesses, Lords and Ladies, and that great good would come to the people of both nations from the conjunction of these two invincible princes. He spoke of friendship, which may be contracted in absence, which increases through presence, and becomes greater by means of colloquies (a direct contradiction of Commynes's cynical dictum that princes who wished to remain friends should never meet). Such friendship augmented when accompanied by the prayers and blessings of the servants of God, who had authority to bless, such as the legate. Wolsey had such authority, not only in England, but in all places where his master claimed jurisdiction (i.e. at the scene of the meeting). The Cardinal had authority from the Pope to give full pardon to all those who

<sup>1</sup> Baillie and Kast, loc. cit.; Stevens, op. cit., p. 266. For sacred music in England at this time, see F.L. Harrison *Music in medieval Britain*, London 1958, pp. 250 et seq., 156 et seq.; also for Fayrfax, *ibid.*, p. 142, 172, 263; Cornish, pp. 170-2, 312, 412-20, 421-3; De Opitiis, *ibid.*, pp. 338-40.

<sup>2</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 179; SPV, III, 93; Journal of Louise of Savoy in Guichenon, op. cit., livre VI, p. 460.



assisted at the mass (for he had this privilege whenever he celebrated mass in pontificals); it was pardon not only to those who had confessed, but to those who had the will to confess. The Cardinal therefore blessed the two princes and by authority of the Pope granted plenary indulgence and absolution beseeching all present to pray that God would maintain the friendship between the Kings to the praise of the Christian faith and for the stability of the Holy See. Either now, or during the ceremony, he laid the foundation stone of a chapel, to be called 'Our Lady of Friendship' or 'St. Mary's of the Parliament' (according to one record) and to be built and maintained by the two Kings to commemorate the occasion.<sup>1</sup> Thus was the alliance to be perpetually commemorated. We are told that, because of the full pardon, many assisted at this service, but that in spite of the crowd, there was room, so excellently had the scaffolds and seats been arranged.

During the ceremony, at the preface to the mass, there had appeared a sudden portent, by some taken to be a comet, by others a salamander (emblem of Francis I), or a dragon, and by one spectator thought to be the Eucharist itself. It floated over the camp, at the height of a bow's shot (or a tall tower in another account), and at a man's walking pace. It was about four yards long. In fact we know that it was a firework, and most probably the Tudor dragon, the red dragon of Wales, commemorated in the Tudor pursuivant, Rougedragon, who was at this festivity. Mr. Anglo, in an article on the 1520 celebrations has reminded us that such fireworks were often set off at banquets and spectacles, particularly on St. John the Baptist's Eve (June 23rd) the date of this solemnity, and also Midsummer's Eve, when such fireworks and bonfires were customary. In the accounts of the Revels Office for 1520 there is noted the purchase of linen for a dragon, no doubt this firework. It seems most probable that it was set off from Guines; either a piece of Tudor propaganda, or in honour of St. John, or conveniently celebrating both. It may be, as Anglo suggests, that the firework was intended for the evening's celebrations, and was accidentally or malevolently set off too soon. It is shown in the Hampton Court painting, another testimony to its veracity.<sup>2</sup>

The mass was followed by another of the great ceremonial

<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon, IV, 179-80; SPV, III, 50 (p. 29), 69 (p. 55), 91, 93; Bod. MS. Ashmole, 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C).

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 50 (p. 29); Montfaucon, IV, 178-9; Anglo, loc. cit., p. 126.

banquets, but this time on the scene of the tournament. The Kings dined together, side by side under a golden cloth of estate, while the Queens ate in another chamber or gallery, the Queen of France in the middle under a golden canopy, with the Queen of England, the Duchess of Suffolk and the Duchess of Alençon. The legates and prelates were in yet another room. No doubt the galleries or scaffolds for the tournament were used in some way for these banquets, as they had been for the chapel. It is on this occasion that we have the remark that the prelates ate without pretence 'sans fiction', but that the Kings and Queens, having dined privately beforehand, only watched the banquet and admired the dishes. An Italian comments that it was a marvel that so many could dine at the same time, and in the open country. Each banquet had its own kitchens, butteries and offices, beyond the ditch of the tiltyard, under awnings and in tents. During the meal, the royal musicians played in turn; trumpets, cornetts, fifes, sack-butts, trombones, sordines, tabor, viol, and 'tuifolo'. There may have been dancing, but probably not, since there followed the last encounter in the lists, the armed combat at the barriers. The evening was enlivened with the lighting of bonfires at the lists, at Ardres, Guines, and Calais. There had been gunfire throughout the day, and in the evening. There may have been other private festivities, but of these we have no record.<sup>1</sup>

The final celebrations came on June 24th, a Sunday, the day of leave-taking. There was the usual Sunday programme of banquets, dancing and masques at Guines and Ardres. King Francis and about twenty couples rode to Guines in masking apparel, 'not all of one suite, but of several fashions of divers silks, some broched, some had plumes that were very fayre'. They wore masks, and the ladies had horned head-dresses and plumes, being dressed in the Italian fashion. Francis himself was in murray brocade, with hood and hat in German fashion, the latter decked with yellow and murray feathers. The French passed King Henry and his company on their way to Guines. Once there, King Francis and his maskers dined together, and then entered Queen Catherine's apartments, at the appointed hour. The Queen seems to have entered into the spirit of the occasion, pretending that the maskers were unknown visitors, for we are told that they entered, and then removed their masks, and that 'when the Quene saw them [unmasked] she did

<sup>1</sup> SPV, III, 50 (pp. 29-30), Hall, i, 215; Montfaucon, IV, 180.

them the more reverence'. There was dancing to fifes, and later the King retired. He re-entered in his 'apparell of usuance', in which were many fair emeralds, particularly those on his breast, which were large and exquisite, and many on his sleeves. He wore a black cape of satin and velvet, slashed with gold embroidery.

Meanwhile, preparations had been made for the ceremony of prize-giving, the final item concluding the feat of arms. Queen Catherine had given orders that presents be given to those Frenchmen who had jousted well; the heralds had lists of these champions, and three or four prize-winners were given 'billets' or notes stating from whom they were to collect their prizes. The presents were jewels, rings or collars, and an official of the household distributed them. For the King himself, there was a special presentation. When he re-entered, he conversed with the Queen, who then gave him his prize, a very beautiful diamond and ruby ring. The King then took his leave, kissing all(?) the ladies, 'and on the court he loked with a high countenance'. He departed escorted by Wolsey and Buckingham.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, at Ardres King Henry and his sister had arrived with four companies of maskers, two of men and two of women, and each of ten persons (including the royal pair). Men and women rode side by side, their horses caparisoned in yellow and white. It may be that the French maskers had a theme, but surviving evidence is only concerned with the variety of their costumes. For the English, however, the subject of the masques is known. On this day 'the storie of the king's maske was the life of Hercules'. The King, as Hercules, led the first company, which was to represent the classical hero and the nine worthies. As Hercules, the King wore a shirt of silver damask, with letters in purple on the border, 'en femmes et infautes cy petit assurance' ('in women and children there is little trust'; the motto seems to refer to the death of Hercules through the shirt of Nessus sent to him by his wife Deianira, and to his son Hyllus's refusal to light the funeral pyre at his father's bidding).

Hercules was a symbol of heroic virtue, and often represented in contemporary art and writing. For example, the 'douze triomphes' of Henry VII was a work comparing the deeds of Henry VII to the twelve labours, with France as the garden of the Hesperides.

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 217; Montfaucon, IV, 180-1; SPV, III, 50 (p. 30), 95; Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup> (Appendix C).

The appropriation of Hercules as a Christian hero 'le hercule chretien' was to come later with Ronsard. The King's costume was completed by a 'whode' (hood) with a garland of green damask cut as vine and hawthorn leaves. In his hand was a club, full of 'pricks' in green damask. His lionskin was of cloth of gold, with flat gold for the hairs, and he wore buskins of gold. With him rode the worthies; Hector, Alexander and Julius Caesar first, in Turkey 'jubbes' (the long cloth coat, open at the front, worn by Mohammedans), of green cloth of gold wrought like 'chamblet' (a rich material, originally supposed to have been of silk and camel's hair, but later of angora goat's hair). They had bonnets in the Turkish fashion, of cloth of gold, with cloth of silver rolled in Cyprus kerchiefs, as the pagans wore, cloth of gold girdles, with pendants cut in great flanges, and buskins of green damask. The three princes of Jewry came next, David, Joshua, and Judas Maccabeus, in long gowns of russet tinsel satin, with wide sleeves lined with cloth of gold. They had tippets of cloth of gold 'bald-rick wise' and hoods ('whodes') of the same, and buskins of green damask. Their masks had beards of fine gold. Lastly came the three Christian princes, Charlemagne, Arthur, and Godfrey of Bouillon, the crusading hero. They had long gowns of 'calendared' (pressed) cloth of gold and purple, broched together, with hoods and caps of the same, visors and buskins of green damask.

The second company of men wore coats of crimson satin, decked with quatrefoils of cloth of gold and silver, each quatrefoil laced to the next. Over this they had mantles of crimson satin embroidered with figures of gold damask. Their masks had beards of gold wire, and their hoods and buskins were of crimson satin. The first company of ladies was dressed in the Genoese fashion, in gowns of white satin, diapered with crimson satin and cloth of gold. They had square bonnets on their heads, of cloth of gold, and kerchiefs or 'cleres' of fine Cyprus (a fine material like lawn, originally from Cyprus). The second company was attired after the fashion of Milan, in rich tissue and cloth of silver, ruffed sleeves, knit with points of gold, and caules or coifes (close-fitting caps) of gold. They wore Milan bonnets of crimson satin drawn through with cloth of gold. Mary led these ladies, with Lady Daubeney and Lady Tilney. The whole company, escorted by minstrels, met the French maskers en route, but neither party acknowledged the other, nor devisored.

On arrival at Ardres, the King and his company removed their



masks. There followed a banquet of 'many and straunge meats', then dancing 'in passing the time joyouslye'. It was during this festivity that Queen Claude gave King Henry his prize, as Catherine of Aragon honoured King Francis. The English King was given a diamond and a ruby in two rings, and other prizes were given to those of England who had distinguished themselves in the challenge.<sup>1</sup>

The two companies met a second time, on their way home, on the field of the challenge. They unmasked, and the two Kings embraced and communed amicably. They went 'into the armorie whereas they were wont to be armed and there they tarried the mounenance of iii quarters of a howre and more talking and then they departed with greate amitie and love on both parties'. Hall states that the Kings gave each other gifts for remembrance, and this may well be so – a final act in the long series of gifts, the exchange of horses, the exchanging of the collar for the bracelets on King Francis's surprise visit to Guines. There had been many lesser gifts in this period of flamboyant amity: the French Queen gave to the English a litter of cloth of gold, with its mules and pages, the English Queen sent Queen Claude hobbies and beautiful palfreys, well trapped, and a saddle and harness to the Queen Mother. To Cardinal Wolsey, the Queen Mother of France gave a jewelled crucifix, said to be worth 6,000 crowns. From King Francis, Wolsey received gold vases, priced at 20,000 crowns. There were doubtless other gifts from the French to the English. Of the English presentations, we know that King Henry gave the Admiral of France a jewel, which he had worn in his cap, and costly gold vases; to the Master of the Horse (San Severino), who had wielded the heavy sword and other weapons, he gave gold vases and a jewel, to Madame de Chateaubriand a crucifix, to Marshal Lescun a gown of cloth of gold lined with sables, to the Constable (Bourbon) a gold cup studded with jewels. There were royal gifts of money to the French household, which King Francis reciprocated. From the Cardinal to his opposite number in negotiation, the Admiral, came a very large salt cellar of gold studded with jewels and surmounted by St. George. To the Queen Mother, Wolsey presented a small cross of precious stones, containing wood of the 'true cross'. The exchange of horses, palfreys, litters, collars, chains ('carquans') and other tokens between Kings,

<sup>1</sup> Hall, i, 215-18; SPV, III, 50 (p. 30), 95; Bod. Ashmole 1116, f. 102<sup>v</sup>-103<sup>r</sup> (Appendix C).

Queens and notables was the final and no doubt essential expenditure at a meeting costly beyond imagining. These elaborate trimmings of friendship deceived no one; yet no solemn meeting could have passed without them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, f. 103<sup>r</sup>; Hall, i, 218; SPV, III, 79, 91, 94; LP, III (ii), p. 1554.

## Conclusion

It would probably be fair to suggest that the intention of this 'memorable meeting' was to deceive. It was to embody and set forth, in most sumptuous and dramatic guise, an Anglo-French understanding which hardly existed. The pageantry was to symbolize the officially desired *entente*, so that in it, as in other pageants, we may judge what was wished for and planned. To this end, the French made their 'books' of the event, the longer a variegated commemoration, filled with classical allusion and stylistic embellishment, the verbal counterpart of their tents and pavilions.

This 'book' begins with a justification of the feats of arms, already noticed, in which Mars is invoked in a Christian setting, and the theme of heroic valour developed. A ballade follows 'Enfans de Mars, heritiers de noblesse', in which all those with noble hearts are invited to joust with the mighty Kings, Henry and Francis, two courtly Princes, the most powerful then reigning. This leads to the Prologue, in which the highest flights of historical imagination and classical eloquence are attempted in describing an event thought to be unique. 'The marriage of Peleus and Thetis (parents of Achilles) was much celebrated by Greeks and Latins, and even by Homer, Prince of them all. Yet this marriage had unhappy issue in the judgement of Paris. Therefore, assemblies which did not avoid controversy should not be placed on record, or should be cited only as a deterrent. However, when meetings led to fraternal union, and the cup of friendship was not false, then it was almost impossible to find the wit of honeyed eloquence to extol them. Certainly, if Homer had seen the cordial meeting (of the two Kings and their Queens), he would not have remained so idle nor lacking in imagination as to sleep for ever among the dreams of Parnassus and not devise a style appropriate to the praise of such deeds. But even this would be in vain, for all the fertile invention of the muses could not approach the subject, and Apollo himself would remain bewildered, although he best could express

the matter, since his divine light penetrates everywhere. In truth, even this light is sometimes obscured by dark clouds from angry Jupiter and the minions of Aeolus (god of the winds). Still more important, Apollo's light-bearing rays cannot illumine men's inmost wishes and desires, for this faculty is reserved for the true sun of justice, the powerful creator of the world himself. He alone can excel Homer's trumpet, and the melodious style of Cicero, to commemorate with sufficient dignity the lavish, most sumptuous, most cordial, most fraternal and most desired meeting of the two most feared monarchs upon earth. What can then be said of the sweet conversation, the chaste and loving embraces, the affectionate kisses, the reciprocal and repeated honours, the banquets and feasts lavish enough for the celestial court itself? What can be said of the pavilions, exceeding the miraculous pyramids of Egypt or the amphitheatres of Rome? How can one praise the manners, excelling Lucretia's, the majesty, excelling Juno's, of the two queens and goddesses? Can eye behold the angelic faces of the heroine princesses who accompanied them? When one thinks of all this, one falls into the labyrinth of imagination, and submerges in the chaos of confusion, so that the feeble wit cannot undertake such grand themes. Therefore one should leave the subject to those given the resounding lyre of the gods to celebrate and commemorate such high enterprises and such admired assemblies, and thus drink of the fountain of the muses and win the laurel's verdant crown.' For himself, the writer has recorded what trustworthy witnesses have told him, simply so that the matter may not lapse into oblivion. There follows the 'order of the interview' utilized throughout this study, two more ballades and the record of the jousts. The second of the three poems, with its pungent criticism of Church and State, its sharp attack on the existing order, is perhaps the most interesting (it is printed at Appendix E). Unfortunately, there is no key to authorship. It may, however, be compared with the two poems which Clément Marot wrote for the occasion. In one, a ballade, he tells how Love, Triumph and Beauty come with their standards, and how Love keeps watch so that Discord may not bring the golden apple of strife. The other, a rondeau, praises the meeting: the triumph of friendship and peace.<sup>1</sup>

The English made no such record of the event. It has come down in chronicle and narrative, in occasional gibes by Skelton, and in the rich tapestry of Shakespeare. One other voice was

<sup>1</sup> Marot, *Oeuvres diverses*, pp. 100-1, 150-1 (Nos. XXX, LXXIV).



heard, this time most sober and reflective. The saintly John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, attendant on Queen Catherine at the meeting, used the experience to point two autumnal sermons on the contrast between heavenly and earthly joys. Preaching in the very year of the meeting, he drew topical examples from its luxury, its short-lived brilliance (the text is printed, for the first time since 1532, at Appendix D). The joys of the meeting differed, he told his congregation, in five points from heavenly joys. Like other worldly joys, they brought weariness; they were very pleasant, 'yet doubtlesse many were full wery of theym at length and had a lothesomenes and fastydousnes [disgust] of theym, and som of theym had moche leuer bene at home'. Secondly they brought fear with them. Many for the meeting had emptied their coffers; some became sick in body and some died; some learnt pride of apparel and could not thereafter shake it off; some learnt envy. Many were the worse both in body and soul because of these pleasures. Thirdly these pleasures had many interruptions. At the meeting, there was such dust, and so much wind, that all the air was full of dust. Gowns, trappers, hats, hair and faces were full of dust, so that horse and man could scarce see each other. The winds blew down the tents, and shook the pleasure houses. Sometimes there were rains and thunders, so that men could not stir forth. Darkness interrupted the jousts. Fourthly, these pleasures were soon done, and did not abide. 'They were but shadowes, and lyke shadowes they be past, lyke shadowes they be flyd away, lyke shadowes they be now vannyshed away from us.' Fifthly these glorious sights were but the counterfeit of heavenly joys. All the glory of princes is but borrowed glory: cloth from the backs of sheep, furs from the beasts, silks from the entrails of worms, colours from vile creatures, gold which is but earth, precious stones from beasts, from fishes, from the sea and from the earth. Men dare not show their natural glory, because sin has given them the wound of shame. 'Take away the glystering garment, take away the cloth of golde, take away the precyouse stones, and the other rychesse of apparell, and what dyfference is betwyxt an Emperour and another pore man . . . Kynges and Emperours, all be but men, all be but mortall . . . They be in them selfe but erth and asshe, and to erthe they must retourne, and all theyr glorie well consydered, and beholden with ryght iyen [eyes], is but very miserable.' There was little hope of reconciling this view and the sheer enjoyment of the passing moment which no doubt the more

worldly courtiers, and their sovereigns, experienced. At the Earl of Northumberland's home in Leconfield this fleeting joy was one theme: proverbs decorating the garret over the 'bayne' [a room for bathing] contrasted sensual and intellectual pleasures:

Riche apparell, costly and precius,  
 Makithe a man lusty, cumly and gloryus;  
 Vestueris of estate wrought preciously,  
 Causithe man to be honowrede and muche sett by.

. . . . .  
 I floure in youthe delyght and pleasure,  
 To fede all my fantasys I want no treasure,  
 I synge and daunce, I revell and play,  
 I am so lovede of ladyes I nede not to pray.

The end was, however, in Fisher's vein:

All wordely pleasures vanyssethe away,  
 To day a man in golde, to morrow closyde in clay.<sup>1</sup>

How indeed should we assess the meeting from a more earthly standpoint? How much is left of its glory when we pierce the golden veil to discover the harsh reality of achievement? If the event was immensely celebrated, and by some immensely enjoyed, neither then nor now can it have deceived anyone. A golden mountain had brought forth a mouse: the revised marriage treaty of Mary Tudor and the Dauphin. There were rumours of other agreements; Hall tells us that in Flanders it was said that the two Kings had sworn together on the sacrament, at the Mass sung by Wolsey. But such stories, alluding to a supposed new alliance (treaties being confirmed by oaths), were unfounded. The revised marriage treaty, with its more generous terms, was the only agreement secured, and even this was soon in doubt. In negotiations with the Emperor, both at Canterbury, just before the meeting, and at Calais just after it, the marriage of Mary and the Emperor himself was discussed. The theme of the Calais meeting was friendship, and many may have felt that this less splendid and shorter encounter augured better for the future than the golden field itself. A temporary banqueting pavilion at Calais (in fact blown down by the winds) was entered by an avenue of king's statues, at the end of which King Arthur was flanked by an English man at arms, with the motto 'Amicus fidelis est alter ego' (A faithful friend is another

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in F. Grose and T. Astle, *The antiquarian repertory*, Vol. IV, London 1809, pp. 394, 397-8 (from BM. MS. Royal 18 D ii).

self), and Hercules, with imperial insignia and the motto 'Fidelis amicus protectio fortis' (A faithful friend is a strong protection). At the entrance to this vestibule, there were statues of an English bowman and a German lasquenet 'guarding' the peace which 'dwelt' at the meeting. All was seeming agreement, and in the months which followed, the terms and probable date of such a marriage were hard-headedly discussed in letters between the two courts, despite the Princess Mary's betrothal to the Dauphin (since 1518), and the Emperor's own commitment to a Princess of France. As might be expected, these discussions were denied by King Henry in his communications with King Francis. He declared that he had rebuffed all imperial overtures. But the Anglo-imperial dialogue proceeded apace, with precise suggestions as to whether the dowry should exceed that offered in the French treaty, and whether a greater portion could be obtained from the imperial bridegroom than from the Dauphin.<sup>1</sup>

Such negotiations ran parallel with continued protestations of England's devotion to France. In fact, the central problem was the expected Franco-imperial war, and which side England should take, despite the golden promises at Ardres and Guines. The game was played to perfection, with every pleasantry and flourish of politeness. Ambassadors to and from France learnt of undying devotion to the French cause, those to and from the Emperor heard of the ancient ties which bound England to him, the old commercial treaties having already been renewed in the spring of 1520. The Anglo-French part of the game is our main concern here. Francis claimed that he and King Henry were two of the happiest princes in the world; Henry was his perfect friend. He even offered to come himself to the Anglo-imperial meeting, were the Emperor as trustworthy as the English king, and to put himself in Henry's chamber as a servant. Francis had been told that at Henry's meeting with the Emperor the King had ridden the courser and worn the apparel given him by the French King, and that this meeting had not been so joyous as that of the two Kings. Henry promised to tell King Francis all that happened with the Emperor, and ambassador Wingfield reported to his master the French King's declaration that wherever Henry was, he was, and wherever he was, Henry was, and that 'both your willys and couraiges were one manner of thyng', so that if one were present nothing would be done to annoy or displease the other. Francis

<sup>1</sup> LP, III (i), 893, 894, 912, 936, 1150, 1191.

was ready to come to Calais, or even to London, if needed. King Henry had won the most faithful friend in Christendom, and also the hearts of all the nobles of France, from the highest to the lowest. King Francis, writing to Henry in his own hand, termed the King his brother, and most perfect friend, while the Queen Mother of France called Henry her new acquired son, and boasted that she was mother of the most perfect and accomplished princes ever read or heard of. She declared that, when Francis went to Milan, he would leave the government of the realm in Henry's hands. In the same vein, Marguerite of Angoulême was termed Wolsey's adopted daughter. So the protestations and flatteries continued.<sup>1</sup>

In point of fact the gathering clouds already obscured such bright hopes of peace. No sooner was the meeting over than Francis began to fortify Ardres, and with the very wood from the pavilions, for such pieces of oak and fir were found too heavy and great to serve for tents of war.<sup>2</sup> This fortification, no doubt mainly against a possible imperial threat, but directly on the frontier of the English pale, brought loud protestations from the English, whose own negotiations with the Emperor might have been held to excuse it. It was declared to be an act of unparalleled perfidy; such a thing had never been done in time of war, peace or truce, in the time of the King's progenitors, since the beginnings of 'this' war (presumably the Anglo-French struggle). So said Wolsey in August 1520, in a draft letter, probably to Wingfield. He had spoken plainly on the subject to the French ambassador, and sent letters to Francis, Queen Louise, and the Admiral, as a mediator, thinking it more expedient that he should be plain, than that the King himself should make precise answer, which he could not do without ascribing ingratitude to the French King, and thus scalding the good amity between them. The news of the fortification had been taken very ill by King and council and Wolsey himself was in peril, since he had assured his countrymen that it would not be done. He had now been put in jeopardy with his King, and in ill reputation with the nobles and subjects of England (we should note this emphasis on personal reputation amidst so much righteous indignation). Such action was not the way to win the heart of right [thinking] men, for the whole body of the realm, as a

<sup>1</sup> BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, ff. 235<sup>r</sup>–256<sup>v</sup>; Cotton Caligula E I, f. 248<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> BN. MS. Français, 10363, f. 177<sup>r</sup>.



result of the royal meeting, was inclined to favour the French King in a more amiable way than any of his predecessors. The English would have to build a counterfortress if the French proceeded. It seems that Wolsey's protestations won their point, for in early October Sir William Sands reported from Calais that King Francis had given orders for all pioneers and workmen to be discharged, so that the building and fortification at Ardres should cease. The English had paid a visit of inspection, reporting that all workmen had gone, but that there were still rumours that the work might begin again. There were other reports that the French were desisting for the winter season.<sup>1</sup>

So much for the immediate irritation. The straw, however, shows the prevailing wind: however much Henry and Francis might promise to be faithful and to rebuff imperial intrigues, in fact Francis was preparing for war, and Henry for a change of alliance. Francis knew that his proposed march into Italy might invite a contest, and the disputed territories all along the Franco-imperial boundaries were a constant incitement to force. Henry expected such a conflict and therefore kept open the roads to alliance with either side. He declined Francis's request that the French and English ambassadors should associate in public in Rome: it would be better if the representatives of all three powers appeared together. Some of the English nearer home were not slow to revert to ancient hatred of France. Already during the meeting with the Emperor at Calais, King Henry was reported as arresting two of his nobles, one of whom had boasted that, if he had a drop of French blood in his body, he would cut himself open to get rid of it.<sup>2</sup>

There were, indeed, many causes for disillusionment. King Francis used his tents and pavilions for war. At Troyes, after the meeting, a commissioner of the Treasurer of Artillery received the great tents, three pavilions, the chapel and chamber of the King lately used at Ardres and now to serve the King in his wars, and especially on his present journey from Champagne against the Emperor and his allies. In the 1521 campaign, Marot again versified for the occasion, calling upon Frenchmen to defend themselves: 'Car

<sup>1</sup> BM. MS. Cotton Caligula D VII, ff. 252-6 (a document not printed in LP); LP, III(i), 948, 960, 964, 1013; SPV, III, 121, 130. There was great bitterness in France when Ardres was taken, the following year, by imperial troops, aided by the English, it was alleged, and directly as a result of English opposition to refortification (LP, III(ii), 1581).

<sup>2</sup> SPV, III, 108.

le drap d'or bien peu sert quand on poulse' (cloth of gold is little use when one is advancing). French and Bretons should hold the field proudly, so that Germany would be crushed, like white snow or ice in the sun. In 1522, when England openly took the other side, and Anglo-French relations degenerated into war, French contempt knew no bounds:

Retirez vous arriere,  
Angloys desordonnez  
Et buvez vostre biere,  
Mengez vos beufz salez.

Again, as in the time of Joan of Arc, the English were termed 'ces faulx godons' (these false Goddams).<sup>1</sup>

In England, Skelton rhymed on the perfidy of the times, first when the great Cardinal terminated his fruitless and deceiving negotiations with both sides in 1521 'so many trusys [truces] taken, and so lytel Perfyte trowthe', and finally in 1522, when the whole of recent diplomacy came in for scathing condemnation:

There hath ben moche excesse  
With banketynge braynesse,  
With ryotyng rechelesse  
With jambaudyng thryflesse,  
With spende and wast witlesse,  
Treatinge of trewe restlesse,  
Pratyng for peace peaslesse,  
The countryng at Cales  
Wrang us on the males [purses].

Already in 1520, John Fisher, meditating on the perfect amity in Heaven, had warned 'Tho thre Princes of whome we spake before [Henry, Francis and the Emperor] were nat so but they had dyuers wylles, dyuers counceles, and no perdurable amyty, as after that dyd well appere. These Prynces were mortall and mutable, and so theyr wylles dyd chaunge and nat abyde.' More worldly was the later comment of Lord Herbert, who saw little hope of Anglo-French amity:

Besides that betwix great estates adjacent to one another, such jealousies use to rise, that they may make peace sometimes, but never

<sup>1</sup> BN. MS. Français 10363, f. 195<sup>v</sup>; Marot, *Oeuvres diverses*, pp. 99-100, 150-1 (Nos. XXX, XXXI, LXXIV); *Chants historiques français du seizième siècle recueillis et publiés par E. Picot*, Paris 1903, p. 27.

friendship. That leagues and confederations have in them the nature of harmonical accords, which jar in the second but agree in the third interval.

It was a musical comparison which would well have pleased King Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps one must admit that all the hopes had been lost. As one writer puts it 'Ainsi donc, cette poussière d'or jetée sur les dunes est dispersée, évanouie au vent de la mer. Il n'en reste rien qu'une enlumineuse aux couleurs chatoyantes . . . et la note à payer.'<sup>2</sup> In private accounts, the mills, forests, and fishponds which men had worn on their backs would have been hard to redeem. It was even harder with the promises of Anglo-French understanding. The chapel in the golden vale, and the palace for future meetings, were never to be built. The two Kings would meet again, though not with such pomp, nor with the promises of youth. All too soon the tortuous history of Anglo-French relations was submerged in the greater struggles of Reform and Counter Reform. After the 'great divide' a Field of Cloth of Gold would not have been possible. The two nations would pass through the trials of religious and civil wars, and not until Victoria's time would two reigning monarchs meet, though pretenders and exiles on both sides might seek shelter with the other. Yet the Field of Cloth of Gold has become a household word among both nations. It stands for any superlative luxury or splendour, with no need for justification or thought of cost. Perhaps on this level alone it deserves remembrance. It is a last gay and amicable incident in the history of Christendom undivided.

<sup>1</sup> Skelton, ii, 23, 29; Appendix D; Herbert, op. cit., p. 115

<sup>2</sup> Paule Bordeaux, *La régente et le connétable*, Paris 1954.

## APPENDIX A

### *Bod. MS. Ashmole 1116, ff. 95<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>*

The appointment for the king and queene at Canterbury and so to Callis and Guynes to the meeting of the french king 1520.

[Names marked \* are those who were to attend the 'first embracing' of the two Kings; counties added after names are as given in the schedules printed in LP, III (i), 704.]

* The lord legatt		[total retinue]
	xii chapplins	300 men
	l gentilmen	150 horses
	ccxxxvii servants	
	cl horses	
* the archbishopp of Canterburie <sup>1</sup>	v chapplins	70 men
	x gentilmen	30 horses
	lv servants	
	xxx horses	
dukes	eyther of them	
* the duke of Buckingham <sup>2</sup>	v chapplins	140 men
* the duke of Suffoulk <sup>3</sup>	x gentilmen	60 horses
	lv servants	
	xxx horses	

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 51.



earles	everie earlie	
* the earle of Shrewsbury <sup>1</sup>	iii chaplains	450 men
* Devonshire <sup>2</sup>	vi gentilmen	230 horses
* Westmoreland <sup>3</sup>	xxxiii servants	
* Stafford <sup>4</sup>	xx horses	
* Kent <sup>5</sup>		
* Northumberland <sup>6</sup>		
Essex <sup>7</sup>	xxx men above his number for his office of marshall	
* Wiltshire <sup>8</sup>		
* Worcester <sup>9</sup>		
* Oxonford <sup>10</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> George Talbot, 4th earl. Lord Steward of the household; Knight of the Garter; Privy Councillor (*The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom . . . by G.E.C.*, London 1910-40, XI, 706-9).

<sup>2</sup> Henry Courtney, 19th Earl. His mother was Katherine, daughter of Edward IV, and he was therefore of the blood royal. Knight of the Garter (1521), he later became Marquis of Exeter. He was beheaded in 1529 for complicity in the Pole conspiracy (*Complete Peerage*, IV, 330-1).

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Neville, 4th Earl. He was a minor in 1520 (born 1499). He married the second daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, and was therefore brother-in-law of Stafford (*Complete Peerage*, XII, 553-4).

<sup>4</sup> Henry Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham; brother-in-law of the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland. He was born 1501, and brought up at court. His wife was the daughter of Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, and the sister of Reginald, later Cardinal, Pole. Stafford's sister married the Earl of Surrey, later Duke of Norfolk (*Complete Peerage*, XII (i), 182-3).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Grey, 3rd Earl, Lord of Ruthin, Knight of the Garter. His mother was Anne, sister of Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, and his grandmother was of the house of Percy. He was a widower in 1520. He was half-brother to the Earl of Essex (*Complete Peerage*, VII, 168-9).

<sup>6</sup> cf. *supra* pp. 51-4.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Bouchier, 2nd earl of the Bouchier line, Knight of the Garter. His mother was Anne, sister of Edward IV's queen, who later married the Earl of Kent (*supra* note 5). He was killed, when thrown from his horse, in 1529, and left no heirs. He had been captain of the royal bodyguard from 1509. In 1520 he would have been about 48 (*Complete Peerage*, V, 138-9).

<sup>8</sup> Henry Stafford, brother of the Duke of Buckingham, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councillor. He had married the widowed mother of the 2nd Marquis of Dorset, some 19 years' his senior. He was not involved in his brother's disgrace (*Complete Peerage*, XII (ii), 738-9).

<sup>9</sup> Charles Somerset, natural son of Henry of Lancaster, last Duke of Somerset, of the house of Beaufort. His father was cousin to Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, who was therefore Worcester's second cousin. He was Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain, and Privy Councillor (*Complete Peerage*, XII (ii), 846-50). He was also Baron Herbert of Raglan, Gower and Chepstow.

<sup>10</sup> John Vere, 14th Earl. He was a ward of the Duke of Norfolk and married his daughter Anne. In 1520 he was given livery of his inheritance, but his extravagance brought him back into Norfolk's custody (*Complete Peerage*, X, 244-5).

	ether of theme	
* the marquess of Dorsett <sup>1</sup>	iiii chappelins	112 men
the bishop of Duresme <sup>2</sup>	viii gentilmen	52 horses
* lord privie seale	xliiii servants	
	xxvi horses	

Bishoppes	everie bishopp	
* the Bishop of Elie <sup>3</sup>	iiii chapplins	172 men
* the Archbishopp of	vi gentilmen	80 horses
Armacan [Armagh] <sup>4</sup>	xxxiii servants	
* the Bishopp of 'Chester' <sup>5</sup>	xx horses	
* the Bishopp of Excester <sup>6</sup>		

Barons	everie Baron	
* the earle of Kildare	ii chapplins	462 men
[Gerald Fitzgerald] <sup>7</sup>	ii gentilmen	252 horses
* the lord St Johns	xviii servants	
[John Docwra] <sup>8</sup>	xii horses	
* the lord Roos		
[Thomas Manners] <sup>9</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Grey, 2nd Marquis. His grandmother was Elizabeth Woodeville who married, as her second husband, King Edward IV. His father was patron of Wolsey, and it is probable that the 2nd Marquis received his education under Wolsey's care at Magdalen College School. He was Knight of the Garter and Privy Councillor (restored as councillor in 1520 after a period of disgrace). His skill as a joustier may have won him the favour of Henry VIII (*Complete Peerage*, IV, 419-20).

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 54-5.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas West, said to have been a baker's son from Fulham. He became chaplain to Queen Catherine, and always supported her (John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, revised ed., London 1962-4, i, 341).

<sup>4</sup> John Kite of London. He had been subdean of the Chapel Royal, and in 1520 was one of the deputy commissioners of the Jewel Office. He became Bishop of Carlisle, and titular Archbishop of Thebes. He is buried in Stepney (Le Neve, vii, 17).

<sup>5</sup> There was no bishop until 1541. If Chichester is intended, then the bishop was Robert Sherborne, a veteran ecclesiastic who had often been employed on diplomatic missions (DNB; Le Neve, iii, 3).

<sup>6</sup> John Voysey or Veysey (Le Neve, i, 377).

<sup>7</sup> Garret Óge. He succeeded his father in 1513, becoming Lord Deputy of Ireland. In 1518 he was recalled to England on suspicion of treason. In 1520, probably soon after the meeting at Guines, he married the Lady Elizabeth Grey, daughter of the 1st Marquis of Dorset. She is not styled Countess in the lists of attendance at the meeting. (*Complete Peerage*, VII, 232-4; B. Fitzgerald, *The Geraldines An experiment in Irish government 1169-1601*, London 1951).

<sup>8</sup> Supra p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> He became Earl of Rutland in 1525, and it is presumably his list of those attending the meeting which is preserved in the Rutland papers.

- \* the lord Matravers  
[William Fitzalan, styled  
Lord Mautravers]<sup>1</sup>
- \* the lord fitzwater  
[Robert Radcliffe Lord  
Fitzwalter]<sup>2</sup>  
the lord Burgaveny [Abergavenny]  
[George Neville]<sup>3</sup>
- \* the lord Montague  
[Henry Pole]<sup>4</sup>
- \* the lord Hastings  
[Edward Hastings]<sup>5</sup>
- \* the lord fferers  
[Henry Grey, styled  
Lord Ferrers]<sup>6</sup>  
the lord Barnesse  
[John Bouchier  
Lord Berners]<sup>7</sup>  
the lord Darcie  
[Thomas Darcy]<sup>8</sup>
- \* the lord Lawarre  
[Thomas West Lord La  
Warre and Lord West]<sup>9</sup>  
the lord Brooke  
[Robert Willoughby]<sup>10</sup>
- \* the lord Lumley  
[John Lumley]<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Peerage*, XI, 253-4.

<sup>2</sup> He became Viscount Fitzwalter and then Earl of Sussex (*Complete Peerage*, V, 487, XII, 517-20).

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Peerage*, I, 31-2. His extensive properties were inherited from the Beauchamp family. He was Knight of the Garter. In 1519 he married Mary, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham.

<sup>4</sup> *Complete Peerage*, IX, 95-6. He was son of Sir Richard Pole, K.G., and of Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence.

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Peerage*, VI, 375. *ibid.*, VI, 695 gives this Lord Hastings as Edward; from p. 375 of the same volume it would appear that the reference should be to Lord George.

<sup>6</sup> *Complete Peerage*, IV, 419-20. First son of the Marquis of Dorset.

<sup>7</sup> *Complete Peerage*, II, 153-4. He married Katherine, daughter of John, 1st Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>8</sup> *Complete Peerage*, IV, 73-4.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, IV, 155-6.

<sup>10</sup> Known as Lord Willoughby de Broke (from Brook, Westbury, Wilts.). He married a daughter of the 1st Marquis of Dorset (*Complete Peerage*, XII (ii), 686-7).

<sup>11</sup> *Complete Peerage*, VIII, 275-6. He married Joan, daughter of Henry Lord Scrope of Masham, Yorkshire.

- \* the lord Herbert  
[Henry Somerset,  
styled Lord Herbert]<sup>1</sup>
- the lord John Grey<sup>2</sup>
- the lord Richard Grey<sup>3</sup>
- the lord Leonard Grey<sup>4</sup>
- \* the lord Dawbenye  
[Henry Daubeney Lord  
Daubeney]<sup>5</sup>
- \* the lord Edmond Howard<sup>6</sup>  
the lord Curson  
[Sir Robert Curzon]<sup>7</sup>

knyghts of the garter	everie of them	
Sir Edward Pnyngs [Poynings]	ii chapplins	66 men
* Sir Henry Marney	ii gentilmen	36 horses
* Sir William Sands	xviii servants	
	xii horses	

concellors spirituell	everie of them	
maister secretarie	i chapplin	48 men
[Richard Pace]	xi servants	32 horses
the master of the rowles	viii horses	
[rolls]		
the deane of the kings		
chappell		
maister aulmonier [almoner]		

knights bachelors	everie knight	
Sir Nicholas Vaux	i chapplin	996 men
[Northants]	xi servants	602 horses
* Sir T Boleyne [Kent] <sup>8</sup>	viii horses	

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Peerage*, VI, 441. He was son of the Earl of Worcester and his wife, Baroness Herbert, hence his title.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the Marquis of Dorset.

<sup>3</sup> ditto.

<sup>4</sup> ditto.

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Peerage*, IV, 105. He married the daughter of Lord Abergavenny.

<sup>6</sup> Son of the 2nd Duke of Norfolk.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Robert Curzon of Ipswich. There is evidently no proof of his elevation to the peerage. Maximilian the Emperor is reputed to have made him a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire (*Complete Peerage*, II, 579).

<sup>8</sup> Later Earl of Wiltshire. His wife was daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. Their daughter was Anne Boleyn, future Queen (*Complete Peerage*, X, 137-8; XII (ii), 739).



Sir J Cutte [Essex]  
 Sir Tho Wyndham [Norfolk]  
 Sir An Windsore [M'sex]  
 Sir Mo Brackley [Maurice  
     Barklay] [Gloucs.]  
 Sir Tho Nevell [Kent]  
 Sir John Husey [Lincs.]  
 Sir John Heron [M'sex]  
 Sir Richard Weston [Hants.]  
 Sir J Dancy [Berks.]  
 Sir Henry Guildford [Kent]  
 Sir W Kingston [Gloucs.]  
 Sir N Waddam [Hants.]  
 Sir E Chamberlein [Oxon]  
 Sir W Aparre [Parr] [Northants.]  
 Sir E Nevell [Kent]  
 Sir Pierce Egecomb [Devon]  
 Sir W Morgan [Worcs.]  
 Sir Thomas Cornuall [Cornwall]  
 [Herefords]  
 Sir J Hungerford [Gloucs.]  
 Sir E Wadeham [Gloucs.]  
 Sir William Ascu [Lincs.]  
 Sir X [Christopher] Willoughbie  
     [Lincs.]  
 Sir W Hansard [Lincs.]  
 Sir Tho West [Sussex]  
 Sir E Hungerford [Wilts.]  
 Sir Henry Long [Wilts.]  
 Sir J Heydon [Norfolk]  
 Sir Robert Brandon [Norfolk]  
 Sir A Wingfeild [Suffolk]  
 Sir Ro Drury [Suffolk]  
 Sir Ri Wingfeild [Suffolk]<sup>1</sup>  
  
 Sir Jo Peche [Kent]  
 Sir Davy Owen [Sussex]  
 Sir Wistan [Weston] Browne  
     [Essex]  
 Sir Edw Balknappe [Belknap]  
     [Warwicks.]  
 Sir W fitzWilliam [Hants.]  
 Sir W Compton [Worcs.]

[A mistake for Sir Robert; the  
 Lambeth MS is correct here.]

<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistake. Sir Richard was ambassador in France. This entry almost certainly relates to his brother Sir Robert. (See p. 57.)

Sir R Jermingham  
 Sir W Essex [Berks.]  
 Sir A Plantagenet [Hants.]  
 Sir W Barrington [Oxon]  
 Sir Ed Guildford [Kent]  
 Sir Edm Walsingham [Kent]  
 Sir John Talbot yonger [Worcs.]  
 Sir J Ragland [Worcs.]  
 Sir Raufe [Ralph] Egerton  
     [Herefords.]  
 Sir An Poyntz [Gloucs.]  
 Sir Tho Newport [Lincs.]  
 Sir W Husey [Lincs.]  
 Sir T burgh yonger [Lincs.]  
 Sir R Constable [Yorks.]  
 Sir ffynche [Sussex]  
 Sir J Senior  
 Sir T Audeley [Norfolk]  
 Sir W Paston [Norfolk]  
 Sir Ri Wentworth [Suffolk]  
 Sir Ar Hopton [Suffolk]  
 Sir Ph Tilney [Suffolk]  
 Sir John Veer [Essex]  
 Sir J Marny [Essex]  
 Sir Ri Sacheverell [Leics.]  
 Sir Richard Carew [Surrey]  
 Sir John Gainsford [Surrey]  
 Sir John Neville [M'sex]  
 Sir John Gyfford [M'sex]  
 Sir Thomas Lucie [Warwicks.]  
 Sir Edward Grey [Warwicks.]  
 Sir William Smythe [Warwicks.]  
 Sir Rowland Vielle [Notts.]  
 Sir Edward Bouleyn [Suffolk]  
 Sir John Rainsford [Essex]  
 Sir Gi Stranways [Wilts.]  
 Sir William Skevington [Leics.]  
 Sir E Braye [Surrey]  
 Sir G Harvy [Bedfords.]  
 Sir Gi Chappel [Capel] [M'sex]  
 Sir E ffererrs [Warwicks.]  
 Sir Gilbert Talbott [Warwicks.]  
 Sir John Burdett [Warwicks.]  
 Sir William Perpoint [Notts.]  
 Sir Griffithe Doone [Notts.]

Esquires	everie esquire	
Thomas More [M'sex]	i chapplin	168 men
Thomas They [Essex]	xi servants	120 horses
William Gascoigne [Bedfords.]	viii horses	
John Mordant		
Edward Pomery [Devon]		
Henry Owen [Sussex]		
Godfrey ffoulgeham [Derbys.]		
Thomas Cheney [Kent]		
William Courtney [Devon]		
William Coffyn [Notts.]		
John Cheny [Berks. Bucks.]		
Richard Cornvaile [Herefords.]		
* Nicholas Carew [Surrey]		
ffrauncis Brian [Bucks.]		
knights		
Sir Henry Wyot [Wyat] [Surrey]	vi men	
over and above his	vi horses	
number for the business		
of his office		
knights scourers [scourers]	these iii shall have a	
Sir Griffithe Rice [Rhys]	c [100] men and a	
[Worcs.]	c [100] horses to be	
Sir William Bulmer [Yorks.]	light horseman for scourers	
	[scourers]	
Sir Richard Tempest [Yorks.]		
Ambassadors		
The Emperours	xx men	
ambassadors	xviii horses	
the ambassadors of	xviii men	
Venise	xvi horses	
Chapplins	everie chapplin	
the deane of Sarum	vi servants	60 men
[Salisbury]	iiii horses	30 horses
the archdeacon of Richemont		
[Richmond Yorks,]		
doctor Taylor		
doctor Knight		
doctor ffelle		

maister Stokeslye  
maister Higons  
Doctor Rauson  
doctor Powell  
doctor Cromer

secretaries

John meawtis [Meautis] french  
secretarie

v men  
vi horses

Brian Tuke [Master] of the  
posts

iii servants  
iiii posts  
viii horses

two clarks of the signet  
two clarks of the privie seale

either of them  
iii servants  
iiii horses

sergeants of arms xii

everie of them  
i servant  
ii horses

kings of arms

everie of them

Gartier [Garter]<sup>1</sup>

iii servants

Clarenceux<sup>2</sup>

iii horses

Norrey [Norroy]

heraults of arms

everie of them

Windsore

i servant

Richmont [Richmond]

ii horses

Yorck

Lancaster

Carleyl [Carlisle]

Montorgeul<sup>3</sup>

Somerset

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Writh or Wryth. He eventually used the form Wriothesley. His father had been Garter before him, and he took over the office in 1504 on his father's death. His elder brother, Thomas, York Herald, was father of the 1st Earl of Southampton. (DNB; Anstis, *The register of the most noble order of the Garter*, London 1724, I, 367-373).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Benolt.

<sup>3</sup> A royal herald whose title came from Mount Argule or Montersil, the castle from which Jersey was governed (*Complete Peerage*, XI, Appendix C, p. 78).



pursuyvants	everie of them
Rougecrosse	i horse
Blewmantell	
Porterculis	
Rougedragon	
Calleys [Calais]	
Risebanck <sup>1</sup>	
Guisnes	
Hames <sup>2</sup>	
minstrells	
trumpetts	[Lambeth MS gives a total of 30]
the garde	
cc yeman of the gard whereof c had horses	
the kings chamber	
lxx personns	cl servants c horses
the kings household	ccxvi servants lxx horses
the kings stable or armory	
ccv [205] personns which shall have ccxi [211] horses of the kings and their owne	
For the Queene	
* The Earle of Derby <sup>3</sup>	vi chapplins xxxiii servants xx horses
[Perhaps a mistake in copying, for iii chaplains, and vi gentlemen?]	
Bishoppes	everie bishopp
* The Bishopp of Rochester <sup>4</sup>	iiii chapplins
* The Bishopp of Herford [Hereford] <sup>5</sup>	vi gentilmen
The Bishopp of Landast [Llandaff] <sup>6</sup>	xxxiii servants xx horses

<sup>1</sup> The name of a tower 'Rysbank' guarding the northern limit of the harbour of Calais (Colvin, op. cit., I, 444).

<sup>2</sup> A castle and village near Calais (*Complete Peerage*, XI, Appendix C, p. 71).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Stanley, 11th Earl. His grandmother was Jacquette Woodeville, sister of Edward IV's queen. His wife was sister of Lord Hastings, later Earl of Huntingdon. He died in 1521 (*Complete Peerage*, IV, 208-9).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Booth, LL.D. (Le Neve, i, 467).

<sup>6</sup> George Athequa or de Attica. A Spaniard, chaplain to Queen Catherine with whom he came to England (Le Neve, ii, 250).

## Barons

everie baron

The Lord Montioye [William Blount

ii chapplins

Lord Mountjoy]<sup>1</sup>

ii gentilmen

The Lord Willoughbie [William Lord

xxviii servants

Willoughby of Eresby]<sup>2</sup>

xii horses

\* The Lord Cobham [Thomas Brooke]<sup>3</sup>The Lord Morley [Henry Parker]<sup>4</sup>

## Knights

everie knight

Sir Ro Pointz

Sir Edw Darell

i chapplin

Sir Tho Tirrell

Sir Tho ffeplace

xi servants

Sir John Lysle

Sir Georg ffoster

viii horses

Sir Adrien fforestcue

Sir Wat Stoner

Sir Edw Griville

Sir Georg Selenger [Kent]

Sir John Hampden

Sir John Kukeham

Sir Mar Constable

Sir Myles Busy [Bushey]

Sir Ra [Ralph] Verney

Sir Henrie Willowghbie

yonger

Sir William Reed

Sir Paris [Cambs.]

Sir Robert Johns [Jones]

Sir Ra Chamberlein

Sir John Shelton

Sir Ra Clere

Sir Ph Calthropp

Sir John Heningham

Sir William Walgrave

Sir Roger Wentworth

Sir Tho Lynde

Sir John Villeirs

Sir Nat Browne

Sir John Ashton

Sir John Mordant

Sir Henry Sacheverell

## Chapplins

everie chapplin

Chapplins six

iii servants

ii horses

## Duches

The Duchess of Buckingham<sup>5</sup>

iiii gentlewomen

vi menservants

xii horses

<sup>1</sup> *Complete Peerage*, IX, 338-40. Mountjoy was Chamberlain to Queen Catherine.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, XII (ii), 670-1.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, III, 347.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, IX, 221-2. He was to become famous as a translator, translating Plutarch for Cromwell, Seneca, and Cicero for the Princess Mary (McConica, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-8). His gift of Machiavelli's *Prince* to Cromwell is the subject of much theorizing by historians.

<sup>5</sup> Eleanor, daughter of the 4th Earl of Northumberland and sister of the reigning (1520) Earl (*ibid.*, II, 391).

Countesses	everie countesse
The countess of Stafford <sup>1</sup>	iii gentilwomen
Westmoreland <sup>2</sup>	iiii menservants
Shrewsbury <sup>3</sup>	viii horses
Devonshire <sup>4</sup>	
Darbie <sup>5</sup>	
The countess dowaiger of Oxonford <sup>6</sup>	iii gentilwomen
	xvi men servants
	xx horses
Baronesses	everie baronesse
The ladie fitzwalter <sup>7</sup>	ii weomen
Boleyn <sup>8</sup>	iii men servants
Willowbie <sup>9</sup>	vi horses
Burgavenny <sup>10</sup>	
Cobham <sup>11</sup>	
Elizabeth Grey <sup>12</sup>	
Ann Grey <sup>13</sup>	
Scrope <sup>14</sup>	
Morley <sup>15</sup>	
Hastings <sup>16</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> Ursula, daughter of Sir Richard Pole and the Countess of Salisbury (ibid., XII (i), 184).

<sup>2</sup> Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham (ibid., XII (ii), 554).

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Walden of Erith, Kent (ibid., IX, 709).

<sup>4</sup> Gertrude, daughter of Lord Mountjoy (ibid., IV, 331).

<sup>5</sup> Anne, sister of Lord Hastings, later Earl of Huntingdon (ibid., IV, 209).

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth, widow of the 13th Earl, and one of the Scropes of Bolton, Yorkshire. According to the Rutland list, the wife of the reigning Earl was also present. She was Anne, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk (ibid., X, 243, 245).

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Katherine Woodeville, sister of Edward IV's queen. Elizabeth was therefore sister of the 3rd Duke of Buckingham (ibid., XII, 519).

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, and mother of Queen Anne Boleyn (ibid., IX, 612-15).

<sup>9</sup> Mary de Salinas, Maid of Honour to Queen Catherine of Aragon; she was naturalized (ibid., XII (ii), 671).

<sup>10</sup> Eleanor, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham (ibid., I, 33).

<sup>11</sup> Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Heydon? (ibid., III, 347).

<sup>12</sup> Daughter of the 1st Marquis of Dorset; she married the Earl of Kildare (ibid., VII, 232-4).

<sup>13</sup> Widow of Richard Clement and daughter of the 1st Marquis of Dorset (ibid., VI, 696).

<sup>14</sup> Daughter of John Neville Marquis Montague; widow of Thomas Scrope of Masham Yorkshire, and of Sir Henry Wentworth (ibid., IX, 89-93).

<sup>15</sup> Alice, daughter of Sir John St. John of Bletsoe (ibid., IX, 223).

<sup>16</sup> Anne, widow of Sir William Herbert and daughter of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Katherine Woodeville (ibid., VI, 655).

Montagew<sup>1</sup>  
 Dawbney<sup>2</sup>  
 Montioye<sup>3</sup>  
 Grey, lord John's wife  
 Broke<sup>4</sup>  
 Guildford the elder<sup>5</sup>

Knights wyffes

The Ladie Vaux

ffetiplace

Parre wydew

Rice

Darrell

Giulford the yonger

Selenger

Parre wyffe

Compton

ffinche

Hopton

Tilney

Wingfeild Sir Richard's wyfe

Owen

Bulleyn [Boleyn] Sir Edw wyfe

Wingfeild, Sir Anthonie's wyfe

Cleare

Neville Sir Johns wyfe

everie knights wyfe

i weomen

ii men servants

iiii horses

and they that have

no husbands to

have

i woemen

viii men servants

viii horses

Gentilweomen

Mistress Carew

Cheyney

Courtney

Norrys

ffitzwaren

Wotton

everie gentil-

weomen to have

i weomen

ii men servants

iii horses

<sup>1</sup> Jane, daughter of Lord Abergavenny, fourth Baron (d. 1492) (*ibid.*, IX, 96).

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Abergavenny, fifth Baron (*ibid.*, IV, 105).

<sup>3</sup> Alice, widow of William Brown, Lord Mayor of London in 1513. She was daughter of Henry Keble, Lord Mayor in 1510-11 (*Complete Peerage*, IX, 340).

<sup>4</sup> Dorothy, daughter of the 1st Marquis of Dorset, sister of the reigning Marquis (*ibid.*, XII (ii), 697).

<sup>5</sup> Widow of Sir Richard Guildford; mother of Sir Harry and sister of Sir Nicholas Vaux (*ibid.*, VI, 696).



Mistress Browne  
     ffynche  
     Cornwales  
     Coke  
     Parris  
     Victoria<sup>1</sup>  
     Appliard  
     Cary Lord ffitzwaters daughter  
     Coffyn  
     Parker  
     Jermingham widowe  
     Bruce  
     Danet  
     Points Sir Anthonie's daughter  
     Catherine Mountoria  
     Laurence  
     Anne Wentworth  
     Brigett Longan

Chamberers

everie chamberer

Mistress Kempe

i man servant

Margett

ii horses

Margery

The Garde

l [50] yeomen of the gard

l [50] horses

The queenes chamber

l [50] personns

xx servants

xxx horses

The queenes stable

lx[60] personnes which shall have lxx[70] horses  
     of the queenes and their owne

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the wife of Fernando de Victoria, physician to Henry VIII in 1523? In this case, the name was not a Christian name as Rawdon Brown thought (*ibid.*, ii, 127).

## APPENDIX B

### *Retinue of King Francis I*

- I. *Those scheduled to attend the first meeting of the Kings* (List printed in Rymer, XIII, 713 and LP, III(i), 702 (No. 4). The original must have been compiled in 1519, for which date the meeting was originally intended, since the names include those of the Grand Master, de Boisys, who died in that year).

The King of Navarre [Henri II d'Albret] [see page 71]

The Duke of Alençon [Charles IV] [see page 70]

The Duke of Bourbon [Charles III] [see page 8]

The Duke of Vendôme [Charles de Bourbon]<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of Lorraine [Antoine le Bon]<sup>2</sup>

The Count of S Pol [François de Bourbon]<sup>3</sup>

The Prince of la Roche sur Yon [Louis de Bourbon]<sup>4</sup>

The Count of Bénon, Seigneur de la Trémouille [Louis II de Bourbon]  
[see pages 72-3]

The Count of Dreux and Réthel, Seigneur d'Orval, Governor of  
Champagne [Jean d'Albret]<sup>5</sup>

[The Count of Étampes and Caravas, Seigneur de Boisys, Grand Master:  
died 1519]

M de Bonnavet, Admiral of France [Guillaume Gouffier] [see page 69]

M de la Palisse, Marshal of France [Jacques de Chabannes] [see page 72]

<sup>1</sup> Anselme, I, 328. He was married to Louise D'Alençon, sister of the Duke.

<sup>2</sup> Cayon, *Les ducs de Lorraine, 1048-1737*, Nancy 1854. Antoine, married to Renée, sister of the Duke of Bourbon (Charles III), was the grandson of Ferri, Count of Vaudémont, of the cadet branch of Lorraine, who had obtained the duchies of Lorraine and Bar on his marriage with Isabelle, daughter and heiress of Duke René I (Duke of Anjou, King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem). René himself had obtained Lorraine and Bar through his marriage with the daughter and heiress of Duke Charles II, who died in 1431.

<sup>3</sup> Brother of the Duke of Vendôme (Anselme I, 326).

<sup>4</sup> Anselme, I, 353; Barrillon, i, 68; Du Bellay, i, 78. Uncle of the Duke of Vendôme and the Count of S. Pol.

<sup>5</sup> Anselme, VI, 218. Barrillon, i, 77; Florange i, 9; Du Bellay, i, 140-1. (He was in prison in Jan. 1520 Barrillon, ii, 166.) La Roche sur Yon is in the Vendée.

- M de Chatillon, Marshal of France [Gaspard de Coligny] [see page 71]  
 M de Lescun, Marshal of France [Thomas de Foix] [see page 72]  
 [M de Lautrec is listed as Marshal, but see page 72 for his replacement by 1520 by Lescun his brother]  
 The Count of Guise, brother of the Duke of Lorraine [Claude de Lorraine]<sup>1</sup>  
 The Bastard of Savoy, [by 1520 Grand Master] [René, Count of Villars, Tende, Beaufort, Governor of Provence]<sup>2</sup>  
 The Count of Laval [Guy XVI]<sup>3</sup>  
 M de Chateaubriant [Jean de Laval, Seigneur de Chateaubriant]<sup>4</sup>  
 The Prince of Orange [Philibert de Chalon]<sup>5</sup>  
 The Prince of Talmont [François de la Trémouille] [cf. page 73]  
 Louis M de Nevers [Louis de Cleves, Count of Auxerre]<sup>6</sup>  
 M de Sparrox [M de Lesparre or d'Asparros Count of Montfort, Lieutenant of Guyenne] [André de Foix]<sup>7</sup>  
 M de Montmorency [Guillaume Seigneur de Montmorency, d'Escouen, de Chantilly, et de la Roche Pot]<sup>8</sup>  
 M le Grand Écuyer [Galeazzo di San Severino] [see pages 73-4]  
 The Count of la Chambre [Jean]<sup>9</sup>  
 The Count of Tonnerre [Claude de Husson]<sup>10</sup>  
 The Count of Brienne [Charles de Luxembourg]<sup>11</sup>  
 The Count of Joigny [François d'Alegre, Baron de Viteaux]<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anselme, III, 485; Barrillon, i, 70. He was married to Antoinette, sister of the Duke of Vendôme and the Count of St. Pol.

<sup>2</sup> Anselme, VIII, 385. His half-sister was Louise, mother of King Francis, and his half-brother the reigning Duke of Savoy.

<sup>3</sup> Anselme, III, 603. Laval is in Mayenne. The Count was Governor of Brittany. He married the daughter of M. de Montmorency.

<sup>4</sup> Anselme, VII, 77. He married Louise de Foix, sister of the Marshal Lautrec and the Marshal Lescun. She was said to be the King's mistress at this time.

<sup>5</sup> Anselme, VIII, 424. At some time during 1520 he went over to the imperial side. Orange was a small principality, an enclave in the midst of the Comtat Venaissin, and then outside France.

<sup>6</sup> Anselme, I, 250-3. He was a younger son of the Count of Nevers, and grandson of the Duke of Cleves, a descendant of the ducal house of Burgundy. His mother was aunt of the Duke of Vendôme and the Count of St. Pol.

<sup>7</sup> Anselme, VIII, 379. He was brother of Odet and Thomas de Foix. His territory of Esparre is in the Médoc.

<sup>8</sup> Anselme, III, 603-4. Guillaume was father of Anne, the future Constable. He married Anne, sister and heiress of the Seigneur de la Roche Pot in Burgundy, hence this title. Both Montmorency and Chantilly are close to Paris.

<sup>9</sup> Anselme, VII, 128. La Chambre is in Savoy.

<sup>10</sup> Anselme, VII, 128. Tonnerre is in Burgundy.

<sup>11</sup> Anselme, III, 729-30. Brienne now Brienne-le-Chateau is near Bar-sur-Aube in Burgundy.

<sup>12</sup> Anselme, VII, 708-9; VIII, 904. Joigny is near Auxerre in Burgundy, and came to the Count through his wife (Charlotte de Chalon). The count was Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts.

The Count of Bremie<sup>1</sup>

The Count of Ravel [Antoine de la Rochefoucaud, Seigneur de Bussi et Ravel?]<sup>2</sup>

M d'Albret [Alain, Sire d'Albret, Count of Gavre, Périgord, Castres, Viscount of Limoges and Tartas]<sup>3</sup>

## II. Other notables attending [from contemporary sources].

The Cardinal of Bois, papal legate [Adrien Gouffier, Bishop of Albi]<sup>4</sup>

The Cardinal of Bourbon [François Louis, Bishop of Le Mans]<sup>5</sup>

The Cardinal of Lorraine [Jean de Guise, Bishop of Metz and Toul]<sup>6</sup>

The Cardinal d'Albret [Amanjeu, Bishop of Basas]<sup>7</sup>

The Archbishop of Sens [Etienne Poncher]<sup>8</sup>

The Bishop of Paris [François Poncher]<sup>9</sup>

The Bishop of Verdun [Louis de Lorraine]<sup>10</sup>

The Bishop of Lisieux [Jean le Veneur]<sup>11</sup>

The Bishop of Angoulême [Antoine d'Estaing]<sup>12</sup>

The Bishop of Glandève [Symphorien de Bullioud]<sup>13</sup>

The Bishop of Senlis [Jean Calveau]<sup>14</sup>

The Bishop of Macon [Claude de Longvy]<sup>15</sup>

The Bishop of Castre [Pierre de Montigny]<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This noble has not been identified. 'Bremie' could perhaps be Braine? Amé de Sarrebruck, Count of Roussy and Braine, was brother-in-law of Robert III de la Marck, Seigneur de Florange, and served with the French army in this period (Anselme, VII, 167-92; Florange, i, 191-2).

<sup>2</sup> If this is the Seigneur de Ravel, see Anselme, IV, 437-8. He obtained Ravel by marriage to the widow of Jacques d'Amboise.

<sup>3</sup> Grandfather of the King of Navarre (Anselme, VI, 215-16).

<sup>4</sup> Anselme, VIII, 252; *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*; . . ., Paris 1715-1865, I, 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, IX, 553-4; Anselme, II, 114.

<sup>6</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, XIII, 793, 1045. Brother of the duke of Lorraine, a great pluralist, and a great patron of learning. In 1520 he was papal legate in Lorraine and Bar, and bishop of Metz of which he had been coadjutor since the age of 3, and bishop since the age of 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, I, 1209, 1270; Anselme, VI, 215. Uncle of the King of Navarre. He died September 2nd 1520.

<sup>8</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, XII, 88; Anselme, VI, 457-9.

<sup>9</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, VII, 159-60. Nephew of the Archbishop of Sens.

<sup>10</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, XIII, 1239. Another brother of the Duke of Lorraine.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, XI, 799-901; Anselme, VIII, 256.

<sup>12</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, II, 1019-20. Son of Gaspard d'Estaing Seneschal and Governor of Rodez.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, III, 1245-6. Glandève (Alpes Maritimes) was in the Archdiocese of Embrun.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, X, 1439.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.*, IV, 1093; X, 1206; Anselme, II, 223. He became a peer of France as Bishop and Duke of Langres, also a cardinal, being known as the Cardinal of Givry, because his father was Seigneur de Givry in Burgundy. His mother was Marie, natural daughter of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy.

<sup>16</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, I, 75.



The Bishop of Vaure [Simon de Beausoleil]<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop of Auxerre [Jean de la Baulme]<sup>2</sup>

The Chancellor of France [Antoine Duprat Seigneur de Nantouillet]  
[see pages 68-9]

The Treasurer of France [Florimond de Robertet] [see page 78]

M de Florange, Captain of the Swiss guard [Robert III de la Marck,  
Seigneur de Florange] [see pages 75-6]

The King's librarian, Guillaume Budé<sup>3</sup>

Germain de Brie<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, XIII, 343-4. Vaure was in the province of Toulouse.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, XII, 333.

<sup>3</sup> LP, III (i), 878; L. Delaruelle, *Répertoire analytique et chronologique de la correspondance de Guillaume Budé*, Paris 1907, pp. 117-8.

<sup>4</sup> J. Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire civile et ecclésiastique d'Auxerre . . .*, Auxerre 1848-55, IV, pp. 401-2. Scholar, poet and translator, he had been secretary to Anne of Brittany, and was later royal almoner.

## APPENDIX C

### *Bodleian MS Ashmole 1116*

[f. 100<sup>r</sup>] The meating of the king of England and the emperor at Canterburie and the meating of the said king and the French king at Guynes anno domini 1520 anno viiith of his raigne.

Mondaie the xxi daie of Maye the viiith yeare of the raigne of the king our soveraigne lord king henrie the viiith ye saide king departed from Greenewiche to Otford and there he rested that night. Tewsdaie to Ledde, Wednesdaie to Charing, Thursdaie to Canterbury and there his grace rested that weeke and the weeke following untill the Saterdaie which daie the emperor landed at Dover in whose company was the Queene of Aragon with divers and many noble estates which were receaved at the sea side by the lord Cardinall with divers other lords and gentilles which emperor so accompanied at x of the clocke at night by torche light was brought to the castell of dover whereas he rested that night. And there Sir Edward Ponynge at that tyme lord warden of the v porte brought the keyes of the castell unto the Emperor who made aunswere like an honorable Prince saying that he would none receive for he knew well that he was owt of dainger and in as great saufiguard as though he were in his owne realme or dominion. The same night about ii of the clock after midnight the kings highnes came to dover by torche light and as sone as the emperor hard of his coming he arose and mett with the king at the staire hedd whereas eyther of them embrased other in arms full lovinglie so that it was aright honorable sight to see the meeting of theis ii excellent princes and their them talked familiarlie a long tyme together and alwaies the king our master had the emperor on his right hand. On the morow which was Whitsondaie the king and the Emperor with all the other estate rod unto Canterburie the sword borne by the Earle of Darbie riding betweene both the princes according to the kings commaundement and so theis princes did ride through Canterbury till they cam to Christe church where as they were receaved with generall procession by the Lord of Canterburie and ii other mytred the Emperor and the king went bothe under the canape unto saint Thomas shrine whereas they made their prayers and oblacouns unto

that blessed saint and that done the Emperor and the king went unto the busshopps pallaice whereas the Queene of England mett with the Emperor going in at the great chamber dore [f. 100<sup>v</sup>] that done the Emperor and the king tooke a litell recreacoun and then they went to the highe masse where they offred first the Emperor and then the king and so returned to their traverses sett a parte the masse donne they went to dinner and at the service the emperors trumpetts blew and not the kings. On Mondaie next following at ix of the clock at night was begonne a great banquet which did endure till the next daie morning at iii of the clocke at which banquet the king and the queene and the emperor did washe togeather the duke of Buckingham giving the water the duke of Suffoulk houlding the towell next did washe the lord Cardinall the frenche queene and the queene of Arragon at which banquet the Emperor did keepe the estate the king sitting on the lefte hand next him the frenche queene and on the other side of the queene the Cardinall and the queene of Arragon which banquet was served with the Emperors owne servants as carvers sewars and cupbearers where the noble estate passed the night with muche ioye mirthe and pleasure uppon Twesdaie theis estates departed out of Canterbury the Emperor brought the Queene to horse backe to Dover ward then the Emperor and the king kept companie together till they came to the downes whereas they departed the Emperor went to Sandwiche and so to his flette which were in number of great shippes with ii tope the pece the king went to Dover where he tarried that night and Wensdaie all daie and Thursdaie his grace tooke shipping to Calleis where he abode six daies after.

Thursdaie the viii [*sic*] daie of June being Corpus Christi daie the king of England and the frenche king mett in a valley called the goulden dale which dale lyeth in the midwaie betwixt Guisnes and Arde in which Arde the frenche king laie during the triumph. In the said dale the king had his pavilion of cloth of gould pight where there was a certain banquet prepared for the said kings the kings grace was accompanied with five hundred horsmen and three thousand footemen. In like wyse the french king was accompanied with a great company of horsemen and footemen: at the tyme of the meating of theis ii renowned Princes there was proclamacouns made on both parties by the heraults and officers of arms that everie companie should stand still the king of England with his companie on the one side of the dale and the frenche king on thother side in likewise: then proclamacouns made paine of death that every companie should stand still till the two kings did ride downe the valley and in the bottome they mett where ever of them embrased other on horsbacke in great amytye and then incontinent they lighted from their horses putting their horses from them and imbrasing other with their capps in their hands the lord Marques Dorsett bearing the kings sword naked: In likewise the Duke of Bourbon bearing the

french kings sword. After that they had communed together awhile there cam to waite uppon them at the said pavilion to the number of xx of the noblest men of bothe parties where was much honnour and great noblenesse at the meating of the said noblemen: that is to saie on the kings side [f. 101<sup>r</sup>] came the Duke of Buckingham the Duke of Suffoulk the Earle of Northumberland the Earle of Devonshire and vi other lords of the most noblest of the Englishe partie. And on the french kings partie there cam the King of Naverne the Duke of Alencoun the duke of Vendosme the Duke of Lorraine le conte de St Pole Monsieur de Guys le grant seneschall de Normendie le [sic] grant Maistre Monsieur l'admiral Monsieur de la Tremouille and there eyther of them saluted other in the most honorablest manner that might be donne: And after that theis noble princes had banqueted and dronken they departed the frenche king to Arde and the kings grace to Guisnes. ffridaie the ixth daie of June the two kings mett at the campe whereas the tilt stood and there was sett a goodlie greene tree whereof the leave were damaske: on Saterdaie the Arms of the said two kings were sett upon the said tree in two sheilds after that the proclamacoun was made that so whosoever intended to come to the iousts royall for to execute all manner of feats of arms as running at the tilt fighting on horsebacke as tourneyng also fighting on foote at the barriers with swords and long [sic] to bring in all their Armes on shields and to enter their names into the books kept by Clarencieux and Lancaster officers of Arms at which ioustes royall and triumphant pastime were chalingers the most renouned king of England and the frenche king the Duke of Suffoulk the Marques of Dorsett Sir William Kingeston Sir Richard Jermingham Mr Nicholas Carew and Mr Anthonie Knevet with their aydes Sir Rowland and Sir Giles Chappell. And Monsieur de Vendosme with divers other great men of ffrance. Sondaie the xi daie the frenche king dined at Guisnes with the queene of England who was honorably receaved by the L Cardinall the duke of Buckingham and the duke of Suffoulk the Earle of Northumberland with divers other earles and lords besides the great multitude of gentilmen and gentilweomen which were richlie apparaled in cloth of gould velvett and silkes after the most gourgious fashion and that daie the frenche king was marvelously richlie apparaled in cloth of tissue sett with stone of divers sorte with a great multitude of pearles that daie when that dinner was doune they passed the tyme in the banqueting chamber with dauncing among the ladies first erre that he dide daunce he went from one ende of the chamber to thother on both sides and with his capp in his hand and kissed the ladies and gentilweomen one after an other saving iiii or fyve that were ould and not faire standing together afterward he retorned to the Queene and talked with her a littell season and he went to dauncing and passed the daie with disport the same daie the kings grace dined at Arde with the [f. 101<sup>v</sup>] french queene where he passed the tyme



likewyse till hit was vii of the clocke at after noone and then he returned to Guisnes againe and the frenche king to Arde.

Moondaie the xii daie of June bothe the kings mett and men of Arms at the campe whereas the feaste aforesaid should be donne also their mett the queene of England accompanied with her sister the french queene with manie other ladies and gentelweomen and the queene of ffraunce with her ladies and gentilweomen riding in riche litters and chares sumptuouslie embrodered with divers other ladies that ridd on palfrayes richlie apparaled then theis two kings with their companies of chalengers and aydes like valiant Princes richlie armed entred into the feild. That daie the frenche king beganne the iouste and did verie well howbeit the king of England brake the first staffe that was broken in the feild and the most parte of everie course he brake a staffe the frenche king also brake manie staves but not so many as the king of England that daie for defenders came a goodlie band longing to Monsieur de Vendosme with other of the L Admirall of ffraunce whiche were well armed and richlie apparaled with clothe of gould sett with plumes after the most gorgius manner which quitt them well and so departed.

Also on Twesdaie the xiii daie of June the kings with their company richlie apparaled resorted to the feilds with many other noble estates that beheld the bringing in of the sheilds in accomplishing of the chalenge aforesaid: the same daie in the presence of theis noble Princes an Englishman and a Breton wrastled the Englishe man gave the Breton a great fall and went himself undefoyled. Wednesdaie the xiiii daie of June the kings mett againe at the campe that day the french kings mother cam thether accompanied with a great company of lords ladies and gentilweomen howbeit that daie their was no iouste but wrestling where ii of the grad [guard] did cast ii britishe preist. Also ii of the greatest wrastlers in ffrance were cast by ii of the gard which my Lord of Devonshire did put to the king and when the ii kings should depart ther was xxiiii of the Englishe gard commaunded to shoote before the king of ffraunce which mad but small countenance at that pastyme. Thursdaie the xx daie of June the king entred into the feild armed at all points abiding all comers in fulfilling the chaleng that daie came in as defenders two noble men of the parties of ffrance with their bands of men of Arms well horsed and well armed right richlie beseene whiche behaved them right well but specially the chalengers ffridaie the xvth daie of June: therwas nothing donn at the camp because of mervilous great wind that blew. Saterdaie the xvii daie of June both the [f. 102<sup>r</sup>] kings came into the feild and that daie the kings grace had uppon his base and bard 2000 ozs of gould troye weight and 1100 great pearles wherof the price was inestimable that daie came the Earle of devonshire with his band richlie apparaled with cloth of gould of tissu and cloth of silver richlie embrodered uppon the same and all his company

In likewise the french king and the Earle of Devonshire ranne so feirestlie together that both their staves broke like noble and valiant men of Arms and so they ranne full eight courses the french king brake iii staves and the Earle gave two taints and brake v staves and brake the french kings nose: then the rest of his bande ranne owt their courses. Likewise my Lord Edm Haward came with his band richlie appareled which did behave themselves like valiant men. Sondaie the xviii daie of June the french king came in the morning sodenly into the castell of Guisnes with a few of his companie where he mett with the king of England in the midst of the great court with in the castell his coming was because the king should not suppose that the french king should not mistrust him and there either of them embraced other in arms lovingly with their cappes in their hands then the french king said unto the king our master I am come into your strong hould and castell to yeald me your prisoner if you will atte whiche tyme the kings grace sett the french king on his right hand and went to the new banqueting house wheras they passed the tyme the same daie: the french king dined with the queene of England and the kings grace with his companie dined with the french queene at Arde which did riide thether in maske and so came home againe at night in the same apparell. The xix daie of June the two kings resorted to the campe as they had done other daies before whereas everie man on both parties as well chalengers as defenders did the best that the could but the saying of the people was that the Duke of Suffoulk had donne best that daie and many other daies before and would have done more as they should have knowen right well yf his hand had not bine hurt by misfortune. Wensdaie the xxi daie of June came in the Earle of Devonshire with his band which did well also my L Haward theis two noble men with their companies did so well as everie man had praise as well chalengers as defenders. ffridaie the xxiiith [*sic*] daie of June [f. 102<sup>v</sup>] all the noble estates aforesaid resorted to the campe for to see the fight at the barriers whereat there was good fight and pastime on both the parties as well englishmen as frenchmen. Saterdaie the xxiii daie of June was sett up at the campe a goodlie and large chappell which was richlie behanged and garnished with divers Saints and Reliques which chappell was buylded and garnished at the king our masters coste with the appurtenances; In which chappell the Lord Cardinall sange masse of the holie goost being present the kings and queenes and all the gentills nobles and estates aforesaid at which masse there were which did ministe xxi busshopps in pontificall and iii cardinalls and one Legate under a clothe of estate at which masse there was iii kings iii queenes with divers and many noble estates at the said masse my Lord Cardinall did washe iiii tymes that is to saie first at prime before the masse the L of Bergavenny gave the water the L Roos tooke the saie the L ffitzwater held the towell at the beginng of the masse the L Edmond Haward gave the water the L Herbert to the saie

the L. montague held the towell. At the offring the Earle of Oxenford gave the water the earle of Wiltshire took the assaie the Earle of Devonshire held the towell: At the Agnus the Earle of Northumberland gave the water the Duke of Suffoulk toke the saie the Duke of Buckingham held the towell: At which masse the chapplins of bothe the kings did sing masse some tyme the one and some tyme the other which was a heavenlie heareing after that masse was donne the kings the queenes and the estats aforesaid went to dinner to the gallerie besides the chappell where as they made triumphant cheere and after dinner the two kings with their companies as well chalengers as defenders repaired in harnys to the campe for to accomplish and make an ende of the feats of arms enacted and proclamed aforesaid which was ended at the barriers. Sondaie the xxv daie of June the ffrench king dined at Guisnes with the Queene of England accompanied with xxviii lords and more besides ladies and gentilweomen which were a great nomber which were apparaled in masking clothe with vizards on their faces gorgiouslie beseene and likewise at the same tyme the king of England dined with the ffrench Queene at Arde with xl lordes ladies and gentilweomen specially his owne naturall sister marie the ffrench queene dowagier of ffrance which the Duke of Bourbon like a noble prince desired and did serve her grace of her cupp with all honour and reverence to him possible which Lords and Ladies were richlie apparaled in masking clothes of cloth of tissue of gould and cloth of silver and in the storie of the kings maske was the life of Hercules and about v of the clocke in the afternoone as the king had taken his leave of the ffrench queene as [f. 103<sup>r</sup>] he was coming toward Guisnes in his masking gere almost at Guisnes he mett the ffrench king also in maske the one did not know the other of the kings howbeit the french king did ride with his capp in his hand till he had passed all the English maskers then both the kings torned back againe and talked together and the king our master went back againe with the french king to the campe whereas bothe kings did alight and went into the Armorie whereas they were wont to be armed and there they tarried the mounenance of iii quarters of an hower or more talking and then they departed with great amitie and love on both parties. On Mondaie the xxvi daie of June the king of England came to Callis where as he laie twesdaie Wensdaie Thursdaie ffridaie saterdaie Sondaie and Mondaie and on Tewsdaie the iiii daie of Julie the king our master with all his lords and estates rode to Gravelinge to meete with the Emperour whereas he was highlie feasted and a bridge made over the water uppon boats for him and his cariage to passe over. Also in the said Gravelings was such open cheere that everie man had what that he desired both mans meate and horsse meate the heapes of oates in the open markett that everie man might take whatt he would. And there could no Englishman passe by the street but that he was desired into one howse or other to make cheare on free cost and

sumptuous service. The same night the Emperor and the king were served of a costlie and sumptuous banquet which lasted till one of the clocke in the morning after the banquet done everie man returned to their lodging whereas they found their banquets sonderlie prepared for them where lacked no costlie dished nor wyne of all sortts as much as any man would desire and ypocras great plentie for in everie lodging of any noble man of England that was with the king at gravelings there was ordeyned one of the Emperors gentilmen to be steward and to see that everie man should have what they lacked in the largest and plentuous manner that hath bene seene and on Wensdaie the v daie of Julie the Emperor and the king assoone as they had dined departed from gravelings to Callays at whose arrivall all the artillerie of Callis was shotte which was a goodlie hearing the same night the Emperor laie in Callis and my Ladie Margaret with her ladies and gentilwomen where they did tarie untill Saterdaie next following in which tyme they had great and somptuous chere especiallie a banquet which was prepared in a rownd house besides theschequer in which howse was sett out all the Arms of all the kings of England with the kings pedigree and on the other side the Emperors discent. In likewise with manie other sumptous things and posies that should have shewen at the same banquet [f. 103<sup>v</sup>] which poseis be hereafter written of but it blew so much wind that there could noe remedie be found to make the howse stand wherefore the said banquet was served in theschequer. On Saterdaie the viii daie of Julie the Emperor and my Ladie Margaret departed owt of Callais and in the markett place of Callais the king gave the Emperor a baye courser trapped with gouldsmithes worke sett with stones and pearle: in which place the Emperor alighted from his horse tarying for my Ladie Margaret and lighted upon the courser that the king had given him wherein he tooke great pleasuer and tooke him up with the spoures that it was a good sight to see him and when that my Ladie Margaret was come they tooke their leave of the king and departed lovinglie. The kings grace laye at Callais Sondaie and Mondaie and one Twesdaie they tooke shipping but the wind came to the north-west so that he was faine to torne back againe to Callais and one Wensdaie he tooke shipping againe and had a faire wind to Dover whereas he arrived the same night with all his companie in saffetie god be thancked.

God save king Henry the viiith



## APPENDIX D

### *John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Sermon*

'Here after ensueth two fruytfull sermons, made and compyled by the ryght Reuerende father in god John Fyssher Doctor of Dyvynyte and Bysshop of Rochester.'

[printed William Rastell 1532; sold at Southwarke by Peter Treuerys.]

'Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra plusquam scribatum at Phariseorum non intrabitis in regnum celorum. Mathei 5.'

[Fisher turns to speak first of the joys of the saints in Heaven, and contrasts them with earthly joys.]

'I doubte nat but ye haue herde of many goodly syghtes whiche were shewed of late beyonde the see, with moche Joy and pleasure wordly. Was it nat a great thyng within so shorte a space, to see thre great Prynces of this worlde: I meane the Emperour, and the kyng our mayster, and the Frenche kyng. And eche of these thre in so great honour, shewyng theyr ryalty, shewyng theyr rychesse, shewyng theyr power/with eche of theyr noblesse appoynted and apparellyd in ryche clothes, in sylkes, veluettes, clothes of golde, and suche other precyouse araymentes. To se thre ryght excellent Quenes at ones togider, and of thre great realmes. That one, the noble Quene our mastresse, the very exampler of vertue and noblenesse to all women. And the Frenche Quene. And the thyrde Quene Mary, somtyme wyfe unto Lowys Frenche kyng, syster to our souereygne lorde, a ryght excellent and fayre Lady. And euery of them accompanied with so many other fayre ladyes in sumptuouse and gorgeouse apparell/such daunsynges, suche armonyes, suche dalyaunce, and so many pleasaunt pastymes, so curyouse howses and buyldynges, so precyously apparayled, suche costely welfare of dyners, souppers, and bankettys, so delycate wynes, soo precyouse meatys, suche and soo many noble men of armes, soo ryche and goodly tentys, suche Justynges, suche tourneys, and suche feates of warre. These assuredly were wonderfull syghtes as for this worlde/and as moche as hath ben redde of in many yeres done, or in any Cronycles or Hystories here tofore wryten, and as great as mennes

wyttes and studyes coude deuise and ymagyn for that season. Neuertheless, these great syghtes haue a farre dyfference from the Joyes of heuyn/and that in fyue poyntes.'

'Fyrste, the Joyes and pleasures of this lyfe, be they neuer so great, yet they haue a werynesse and a fastydousenes [disgust] with them adioyned, whereby men at length of tyme be wery of theym, as thus. There is no meate nor drynke so delycate, so pleasaunt, so delectable, but yf a man or a woman be longe accustomed therewith, he shal haue at length a lothsomnes therof. Take the mooste delycate and pleasaunt fysshe or flesshe that thyn hart standeth unto, and use it customably and none other, and thou shalte be full soone wery thereof. And in lyke maner it was of those goodly syghtes whiche were had and done beyonde the see. I say nat the contrary but they were very pleasaunt syghtes. But yet doubtlesse many were full wery of thym at length, and had a lothsomnes and fastydousnes of theym, and som of theyn had moche leuer bene at home . . .'

'The seconde dyfference is this. The ioyes of this worlde haue adioyned with them many dredes . . . And verely of suche pleasures aryseth theyre owne dystruccyon at the ende/the whiche dyd ryght well appere in the pleasaunt syghtes whereof I spake before. For by reason of them, great money was spent, many great mennes coffers were emptyed and many were brought to a great ebbe and pouerty. This ebbe caused a greater flowe of Couytyse [covetousness] afterwarde in many mennes hartes. Sum of them were the syker and the weker in theyr bodyes and dyuers toke theyr deth therby. Sum by reason of theyr sumptuose apparelment, lernyd so great pryde, that hytherto they coude nat shyfte it fro them. Neuer was sene in England suche excesse of apparelment before, as hath ben used euer syns. And thereof also must nedes aryse moche harte brennyng and secrete enuye amongst many for the apparell. They whiche had the leest, dyd enuye the other whiche had rycher apparell than they had or myght reche unto. Thus many for these pleasures were the worse, bothe in theyr bodyes and in theyr soules . . .'

'The thyrde dyfference is, that the pleasures whereof I spake, had many interrupcyons. For that lytell whyle that we were there, somtyme there was suche dust, and therewithall so great wyndes, that all the ayre was full of dust. The gownes of veluet, and of clothe of golde were full of dust/the ryche trappers of horses were full of dust/hattes, cappes, gownes, were full of dust/the here and faces of men were full of dust/and briefly to speke, horse and man were so encombred with dust, that scantly one myghte se another. The wyndes blewe downe many tentes/shakyd sore the houses that were buylded for pleasure, and let dyuers of them to be buylded. Somtyme agayne we had raynes and thunders so

unmeiurably that noo man myght styre [stir] forth to to [sic] se no pleasures. Somtyme whan men wolde lenger haue dysportyd them at the Justes, cam the nyght and darkenes upon them, and interrupted theyr pleasure. In Heuyn is no suche interrupcyons.'

' . . . The fourth, the pleasures aforsayd were sone done/they dyd nat abyde/wherebe all tho pleasures now; they were but shadowes, and lyke shadowes they be past, lyke shadowes they be flyd away, lyke shadowes they be now vanysshed away from us . . . '

'The fyft and last difference is, that all the gloyrous syghtes worldy that can be devised of men, be but countrefeytes in comparyson of the Joyes aboue in heuyn. All the glory whiche is shewed in this world and of worldy prynces, be borrowed of other creatures/it is nat theyr owne natural glory. Fyrst the cloth that they were, it cometh onely of the poore shepes backs. The fyne and costely fures, from other unreasonable beestes. The sylkes wherwith they couer theyr bodyes, were taken of the intrales of wormes. The fresshe colours bothe in clothe and sylke, be made by the craft of dyngge, and by the myxture of dyuers thynges taken of ryght vyle creatures. The golde which by crafte is tourned into theyr garmentes/what is it els but erthe. The precyous stones lyke wyse, be gadered, som out of beestes, som out of fysshes, som out of the see, some out of the erthe. In these thynges stande all the glorious syght of man/and this is nat his owne naturall glory whiche he hath by nature/yet for synne, remaineth in us the wounde/of shame, that we dare nat shew our owne naturall glory, but couer it with a borrowed glory, taken and begged of other creatures/which is nat naturall unto us, but may be layd asyde and remoued whan so euer we lyst. And whan this apparell is remoued fro us, where is than our glory. Take away the glysteryng garment, take away the cloth of golde, take away the precyouse stones, and the other rychesse of apparell, and what dyfference is betwyxt an Emperour and another pore man. Take from the ladyes theyr gaye clothes, cheynes, and other Juels, and what dyfference of them as concernynge this outwarde glory, and of a pore woman . . . Kynges and Emperours, all be but men, all be but mortall. All the golde and all the precyouse stones of this worlde, can nat make then but mortall men. All the ryche apparell that can be deuysed, can nat take from them the condycyon of mortality. They be in them selfe but erth and asshe, and to erthe they must retourne, /and all theyr glorye well consydered, and beholden with ryght iyen [eyes], is but very miserale.'

[Fisher then refers to the eternal glories of the saints in heaven, where we shall see the multitude of saints, prophets, angels, Our Lady and above all the Blessed Trinity, who are knit together in perfect amity in one love and one will.]

'Tho thre Prynces of whome we spake of before, were nat so/ but they had dyuers wylles, dyuers counceles, and no perdurable amyty, as after that dyd well appere. These Prynces were mortall and mutable, and so theyr wylles dyd chaunge and nat abyde.' . . .



## APPENDIX E

### *Ballade*

Au Parlement de volonté divine  
Ou presidait Raison qui tout domine  
Prins au conseil deliberacion  
Fut arresté sans contradiction  
Quentre deux Roys paix prendroit origine  
Humilité demanda la saisine  
Et supplia que Raison sa voisine  
Mist cest arrest a execution  
Au Parlement

Discort en bruyt et guerre sen mutine  
Finance dit mise fuyt en ruyne  
Larrecin fait sa deploration  
Sans recevoir leur opposition  
Dessus les champs le proces on termine  
Au Parlement

Labeur sen rit portant ioyeuse myne  
Recognoissant que peu a peu se myne  
Son mal present par telle invention  
Bourgeoys marchans font iubilacion  
Pource quon a destruit guerre maligne  
Au Parlement de volonté

Adventuriers feront maigre cuisine  
Poules e coqs nauront plus en pluvine  
De leur excez lon a fait mention  
Au Parlement

Religieux qui vivent sans doctrine  
Tremblent de peur comme au vent la courtine  
Car il est dit que reformation  
Viendra de brief. Et pour conclusion  
Miche au couvent pour leur vivre sassigne  
Au Parlement

[At the Parliament of divine will where all ruling Reason presided, when they had deliberated in council, it was decreed, without opposition, that peace should grown up between the two Kings. Humility demanded possession [?] and asked that her neighbour, Reason, should put the decree into effect.

Discord grumbles, and War rebels, Finance says she is ruined, Robbery makes her lament, but the case is concluded on the spot<sup>1</sup>, without considering the opposition.

Labour smiles and has a joyous countenance, realizing that gradually her present sufferings will diminish by such a new device. Merchant citizens rejoice because evil war is destroyed.

Adventurers will have a poor diet, chickens and cocks will no longer rain down upon them. Parliament has been informed of their excesses.

Religious who live without learning tremble with fear, as a curtain does in the wind, for it is said that Reform will soon come. Almsbread at the convent is what they must live on.]

<sup>1</sup> There is perhaps a hint of the two meanings of 'sur le champ': immediately, and, literally, in the fields (the 1520 meeting being in open country).



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[Manuscript sources are discussed in the preface, and in the footnotes.]

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